NEW MASSES

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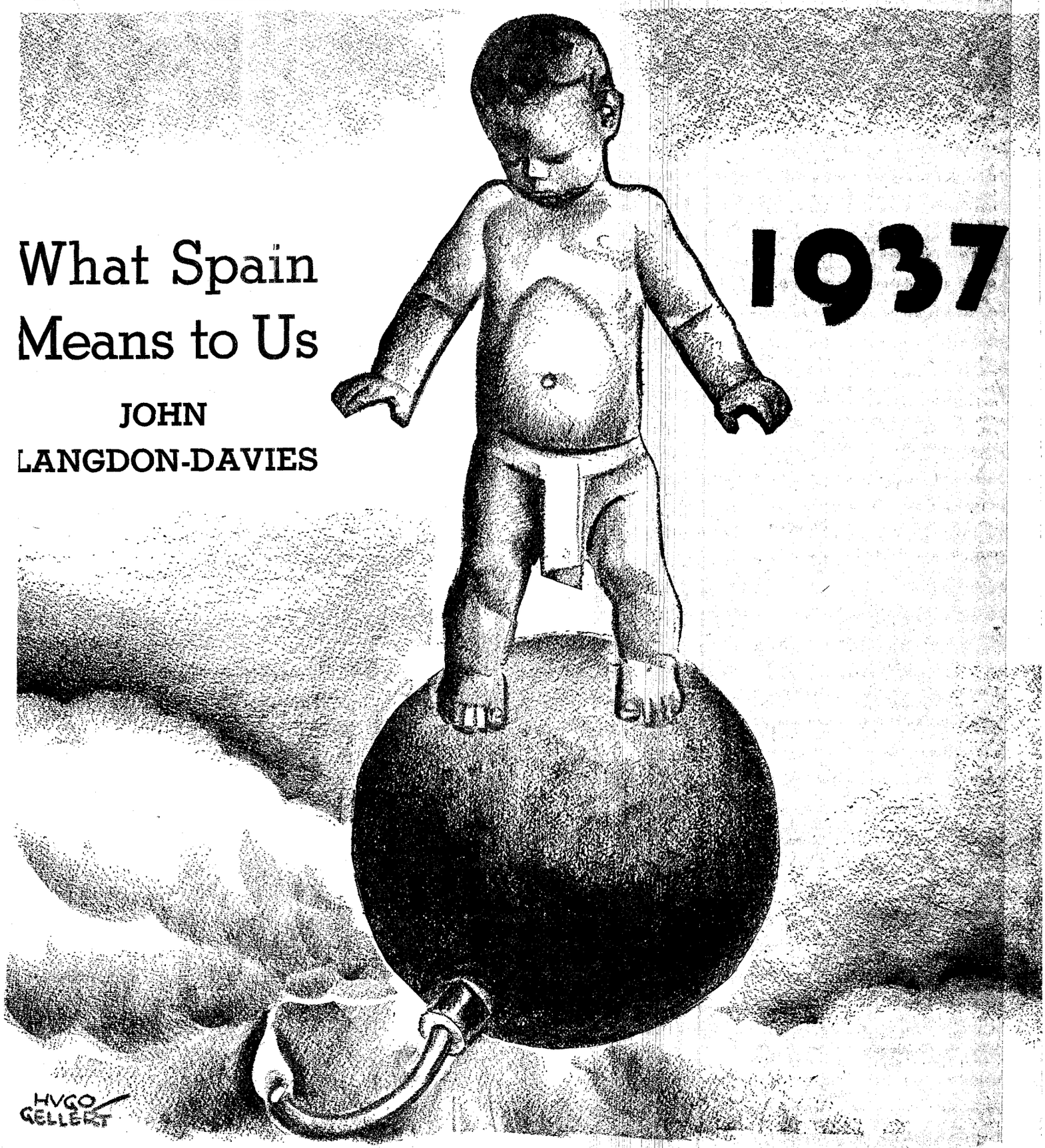

What Spain Means to Us

JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES

1937

AUGNA ENTERS BETH McHENRY JOHN HOWARD LAW

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

ON Thursday, Dec. 24, the Associated Press cabled from Spain the news that Pablo de la Torriente-Brau had been killed in action while fighting in the government lines on the Pozuela de Alarcon front. The Associated Press did not mention what is known to our readers: that he was one of the two correspondents serving the NEW MASSES in Spain. The exact manner of his death is not known, but those of you who recall his article "Polemic in the Trenches" in our Dec. 8 issue know how active a part he was playing in the front-line trenches. Pablo de la Torriente-Brau was a Cuban who held the post of political commissar of the battalion of peasants and farm laborers who have been distinguishing themselves under the command of Valentine Gonzales, known as "El Campesino" ("The Peasant"). He was not yet thirty, but was seasoned in the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement. He spent several years in confinement in the Isle of Pines for carrying on agitation against the despotism of Gerardo Machado, and his book, *The Model Prison,* based on that experience, is eagerly awaited throughout the Spanish-speaking world. As star reporter on the Havana dailies *Ahora* and *La Palabra,* he harassed military dictator Batista by his exposés of terror, economic distress, and servility to the interests of U. S. capitalism. Pablo de la Torriente-Brau was a symbol of international anti-fascist solidarity and heroism. His death is a serious loss not only to us and to our readers, but to his comrades-in-arms in Spain and to his compatriots in Cuba to whom he exemplified devotion to the cause of a free Spain.

On the American front, W.P.A. project workers, many of whom are readers of and contributors to the NEW MASSES, engaged in a sit-in-strike in Chicago

which brought a signal victory. Carl Haessler, Chicago chief of Federated Press, labor's news service, writes:

"The demonstration was spontaneous. A W.P.A. mass meeting had instructed a delegation to go to the W.P.A. headquarters to protest against mass layoffs under way throughout the country and to demand redress of grievances.

"The thirty delegates found the officials hard-boiled and pleading lack of authority to treat with them. Angered by the runaround, the delegates then and there resolved to sit down in the conference room and keep sitting until some official action in line with the demands should become visible.

"It wasn't a comfortable sit-in. The first night it was chilly and steam went down pretty low. Blankets were few. The air was bad.

"The daily papers didn't tumble to the picturesque situation until late the first day, but the next day there were photographs and fairly good stories. When the officials saw that the press was taking up the case they relaxed their first stern regulations. Contact with the outside was regularized. But no one who left the coop except for the toilet was permitted to return.

"On Monday the officials conceded that tear gas would not be used to evict the demonstrators. Nor would arms be twisted and shins kicked by police as had happened in New York.

"'Our technique is to wear them down. If you try anything else they will use passive resistance,' reporters were told.

"The resistance was good, however, to the very end of the strike. Food was brought in by sympathizers who also supplied dishes and silver. Kitchen police was done turn by turn.

"Each sitter had a shopping bag in lieu of a wardrobe locker. Furtive changes of linen went on behind a screen that was two-thirds imaginary. For the first days, it was a rough democracy that would have delighted old Walt Whitman — men and women sharing the concrete floor, white and black, old and young.

"Four unions were involved. The Artists, headed on the sit-in by Sidney Loeb; the Adult Education Teachers Union, headed by H. J. Gibbons, national vice-president of the American Federation of Teachers; the Illinois Workers' Alliance, headed by Robert Foley; and the Technical & Research Employees' Union. The Chicago Federation of Labor wired protests against layoffs to Harry L. Hopkins. Local unions like the Chicago Newspaper Guild did the same and sent messages of encouragement to the sit-ins. So did the Chicago chapter of the Inter-Professional Association. A picket line of elastic dimensions paraded the sidewalks outside.

"On the sixth day of the strike leading W.P.A. officials granted a conference to the sit-ins and answered important questions in the presence of the press. On Saturday, the sit-ins walked out triumphant, having obtained four assurances from the W.P.A. authorities. There is to be no victimization of any of the demonstrators; new W.P.A. jobs are to be provided for all those laid off who are in need; those transferred to other federal projects are to work at the same pay and under the same conditions as on the art projects; there is to be no delay in such transfers and grievance machinery is to be set up to handle complications.

"The effects of this demonstration in the country's second city will be felt not only in Washington but in every town where W.P.A. officials have failed to exert themselves fully in the interest of the workers."

Who's Who

JOHN LANGDON-DAVIES's article is the concluding chapter of his forthcoming book *Behind the Spanish Barricades.* He is also the author of *A Short History of Women* and the current *A Short History of the Future.*

Angna Enters has just given two recitals in New York which have received wide acclaim. A review of one of them appears in the current issue.

Arnold Reid is one of our editors.

Beth McHenry's stories and articles have appeared previously in our pages.

Arnold Shukotoff is secretary of the College Committee on Academic Freedom of the American Federation of Teachers, and author of *The College Teacher and the Trade Unions.* In the former capacity, he has been active in the campaign around Professor Davis's dismissal, his personal views on which are stated in the present article.

The lithographs by Anton Refregier on page 11 and by W. Milius on page 23 are from *America Today,* the exhibition of 100 prints being shown by the American Artists Congress simultaneously in thirty galleries. Mr. Refregier is a director of the American Artists School in New York.

Rockwell Kent's drawing on page 7 is from the Heritage Press edition of *Leaves of Grass.*

John Howard Lawson is a well known playwright who has written a new play now in rehearsal for early production by the Theatre Union.

What's What

DON'T forget our Warming-Up Party New Year's Eve, you New Yorkers—from 5 to 10 p. m., at the studio of Dorothy White, 40 Union Square. Music, drinks, food, entertainment, half a buck at the door.

Editor Joseph Freeman will speak on "American Revolutionary Literature" under the auspices of the League of American Writers at 159 W. 49th St., N. Y., at 9:15 p. m., Jan. 7.

Walt Carmon, former editor of NEW MASSES, who recently returned from the U.S.S.R., will speak at the next open meeting of the Friends of the NEW MASSES on "Literature in the Revolutionary Movement" at Steinway Hall (Room 716), 113 W. 57th St., N. Y., at 8:30 p. m., Jan. 6.

Flashbacks

MANY a new leaf has been turned by the revolutionaries as January first bobbed up. The initial pages of the *Liberator* were offered the world at New Year's in 1831 by William Lloyd Garrison. Marx began in 1842 with volume one, number one of the *Rheinische Zeitung.* Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation became effective Jan. 1, 1863. The first issue of Lenin's illegal journal *Forward* appeared in 1905, a few days late, on Jan. 4.... Reds, to the number of 2,758, were pounced on Jan. 2, 1920 by armed government agents in raids directed by Attorney General Palmer in his effort to ward off revolution. Among all the alleged advocates of violence who had been deprived of liberty, exactly three pistols were found, no explosives. . . .

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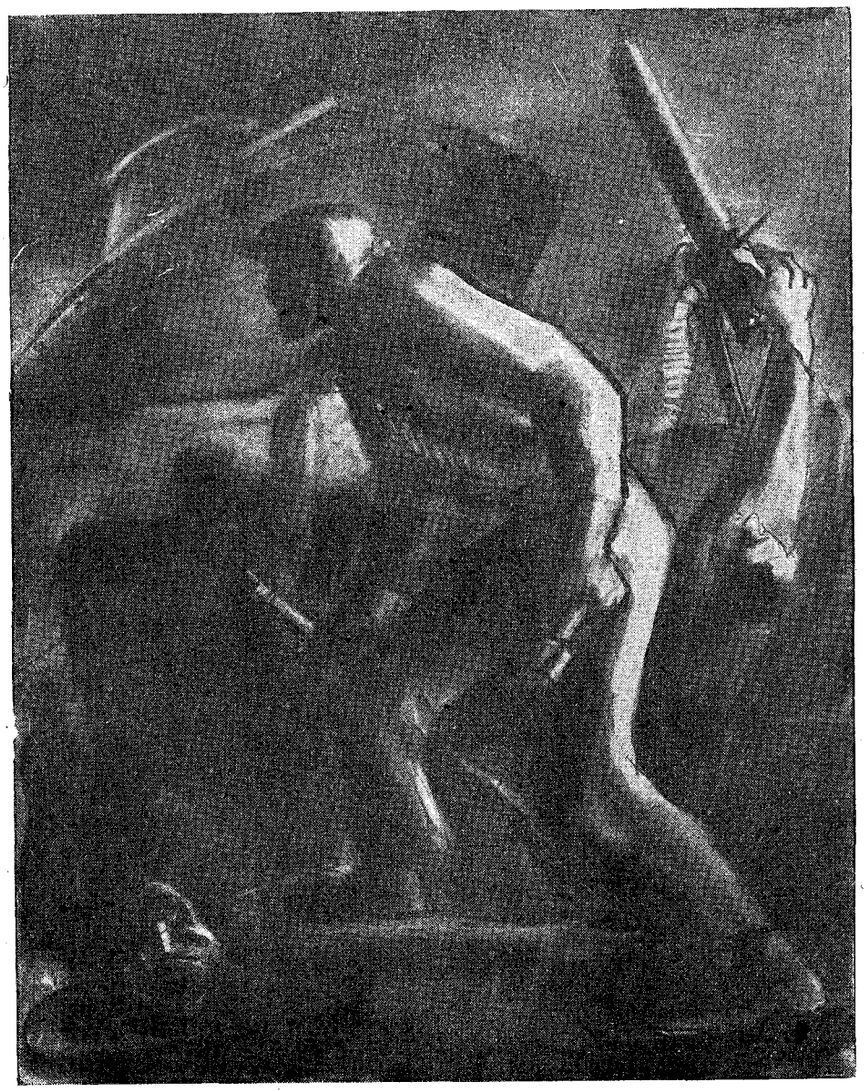

Eugene Chodorow

What It Means to Us

An English writer, long a resident of Spain, comments on the meaning of the present conflict for the Anglo-Saxon peoples

By John Langdon-Davies

WHAT does the Spanish civil war mean to the average Englishman or American?

First of all, how does the Anglo-Saxon think that he reacts toward trouble abroad? He thinks that he wants the right man to win, and that he has a sympathy with the underdog. He thinks that he is a firm believer in democracy, and that anything that goes wrong in a democratic country goes wrong because democracy has "never had a real chance" there. He thinks that, as an Englishman or American, he is luckier than foreigners—because democracy *has* had a real chance here, and that this gives him a moral right to lead the rest of the world, and even occasionally to read it lectures. He is certain that, whatever goes wrong in other countries, "it can't happen here." He thinks that the moral superiority of his country gives him a right, or as he calls it a duty, to protect the *status quo*, for example the free all-red routes to India and elsewhere. Provided this "sacred trust" is not endangered, he wishes to interfere as little as possible. He believes, in fact, in minding his own business, in both ways. Finally, he thinks that when he reads, let us say, Mr. J. L. Garvin, or Walter Lippmann, he is reading the words of a man who believes as he does about fundamentals; and when he is governed, let us say, by Mr. Baldwin or Mr. Roosevelt, that his rulers are carrying out a policy based on these fundamentals.

What does he think about Spain, apart from bullfights, gypsies, sherry and port, which, in spite of the latter's name, he believes to be the leading Spanish wines?

Now what I have to say on the Spanish tragedy, as it affects us, is spoken to this man. I am not speaking to Communists or Socialists or fascists, but to the majority of English-

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men and Americans and in doing so I believe that we are all together facing a tragic and decisive moment in our lives.

The incontrovertible primary fact is, that on July 18, 1936, a legal, democratically elected government was attacked by a small group of rebel military officers, aided by a few thousand fascists largely representing the absentee landlord class, and helped by the church hierarchy who, as the clerical party, had so powerfully influenced politics in the *ancien régime*. These three classes saw their privileges attacked by a liberal government, prepared to overthrow it by any means in their power, and struck on that date.

If it were not that certain groups in England and the United States have denied this incontrovertible fact, it would be a waste of time to give the evidence which proves it true. Briefly, let us state why the Spanish government was a legal government.

It was elected in February in accordance with the Spanish constitution. It had very nearly half the votes cast, and vastly more than the Labor governments in England. Those who say it was "illegal" because it had not an absolute majority of votes are saying that the Ramsay MacDonald government was illegal; and those who say that the fascists had a right to rebel, because the government had 60,000 less votes than the opposition in over 8,000,000 votes cast, are suggesting that if there is another minority government in England Sir Oswald Mosley will have a legal right to try and destroy it by force.

Moreover, this government, legally elected in February 1936, had, in accordance with the Spanish constitutional electoral law, a large majority of the delegates in the Cortes supporting it. Its majority was so large that the right-wing opposition decided to hide its impotence by boycotting it. It also boycotted the election to form an electoral house to decide on the new president, knowing that no popular support would come for any candidate except Azaña. It is worth adding that the February elections were controlled by the Gil Robles-Lerroux reactionary government, so that there can be no question of the liberals having won through rigging the ballot boxes. What was this Spanish legal government elected last February? It was a mildly liberal, middle-class government without one Socialist, Communist, or Anarcho-Syndicalist.

Why did it immediately antagonize the three parties, the military, the landlords, and the church hierarchy, so that—as ample evidence proves—they began promptly to perfect their plans for its overthrow?

It antagonized the military by continuing a policy based on the belief that, so long as Spain had a Pretorian Guard, it could not have a safe democratic government. It therefore reduced the opportunities and power of the officer class. There were over 800 Spanish generals in February 1936. The Baldwin or Roosevelt governments, as the case may be, would never tolerate 800 British or American generals. The Spanish liberal government was determined to destroy so dangerous a force. Moreover, knowing that the armed forces, both military and civil guard, were full of anti-republican and anti-democratic interests, the government of Spain proceeded to counter these and to strengthen democracy by establishing the republican Guardia de Asalto, made up of elements that could be trusted to be loyal to their republican oath. This policy antagonized the army officers and civil guard, who saw their position of dictators in Spain vanishing before a new and powerful democracy.

The legal democratic government of Spain antagonized the landlord class by carrying out agrarian reforms. These reforms were in no way extreme. The only expropriation was of those of the *ancien régime* who had been legally proved disloyal to the Republic. Land was provided for the starving peasantry by insisting that landlords rent their waste land at a reasonable rent. Everything was paid for. Cultivated land was not interfered with. The Spanish government simply said to the landlords, "We will not allow you freedom to continue keeping your lands uncultivated; we will force you to hire it to people who need to use it; but we will guarantee that you receive rent." Not a very revolutionary policy; but a sufficient attack upon privilege to solidify opposition.

The Spanish government antagonized the clerical elements by curtailing their powers, especially by insisting upon secular education. When we think how hard the British democracy has fought to prevent the Church of England, the Non-conformists, or the Catholics from using the educational system of England for mildly sectarian purposes, we should surely sympathize with the Spanish government in its effort to make education a reality. A thousand years and more of clerical instruction had left almost half Spain illiterate. The clericals had had ample opportunity, and wasted it. Moreover, everybody in Spain knew that the clerical party was using church property, church treasure, and church influence to destroy the Republic.

"We got paid by checks on a Madrid bank. Franco says we have to capture the joint to cash them."

So on July 18 the legally elected democratic government of Spain was attacked by a small minority of vested interests without popular support, but with the weapons of modern war.

It has been suggested that this statement is not true; that a very large proportion of the Spanish population supported and supports the rebels. Some propagandists have even trotted out the figures of the February election, suggesting that as 4,000,000 voted against the Popular Front government, the fascists have that much support. This is the same as saying that if Sir Oswald Mosley took up arms against a British liberal government, he would have the support of the millions of conservatives who voted against that government.

Moreover, certain very important elements of the extreme Right opposition in the February elections have been among the government's supporters against the rebels. Thus the Basque Nationalist Party is so strongly Catholic as to desire Basque independence, so that it may have a separate concordat with the Vatican. Yet this party, the most powerful in the Basque provinces, has been fighting loyally for democracy against fascism—a fact that those who wish this to be considered a religious war wisely conceal.

Now those are facts. Every one of them can be verified by simple attention to the known evidence. Yet on October 25, 1936, Mr. J. L. Garvin, in the London *Observer*, writes: "The Spanish drama is at its climax with the assured triumph of the national uprising over class-war anarchy and total disruption. The fall of Madrid will mean the shattering and humiliating defeat of Moscow as the open partner of Communist revolution in other countries."

Now with all the modern means of communication, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, after three months, it is possible for a respectable Englishman writing for respectable Englishmen to make a statement like that.

Consider for a moment. The "national uprising" is a minority rebellion of army officers and fascists, using Moorish mercenaries and foreign legionaries, equipped by Italy and Germany, to destroy a whole people and its legal government. "Class-war anarchy" is an admittedly weak and young attempt at democracy in a country emerging from centuries of autocracy. Far from there being a "class-war" government *before the rebels forced it on the country*, there was not a single Socialist or Communist in the Spanish government on July 18. That there is what Mr. Garvin would call a class-war government today is due entirely to the rebels who attacked the democracy they were pledged to support.

"The fall of Madrid will mean the shattering and humiliating defeat of Moscow." In the same way, I suppose, if Sir Oswald Mosley, helped by foreign tribesmen transported to England in Italian and German planes, succeeded in occupying London, that would be

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a "shattering and humiliating defeat of Moscow."

Later in his article Mr. Garvin goes on: "The Red regime, under Largo Caballero in Madrid, represents nothing but the desperate minority of Communists, Anarchists, and extremists of other stripes. . . . The government of Spain already is the government of Burgos. The Red regime now in its last throes at Madrid has never had the shadow of a claim to the former title."

"The Red regime," with Largo Caballero at its head, is the legal descendant of the previous government. It came into being on the initiative of the previous prime minister, S. Giral. It was appointed in accordance with the Spanish constitution. It contains every element of the Spanish democracy, including, for the first time, the *Right-wing Catholic Basque National Party and one Communist.*

This "Red regime" counts among its supporters such prominent Catholic intellectuals as Ossorio y Gallardo and Menendez Pidal, appointed by it to the Presidency of the Spanish Academy. Are these gentlemen paid by Moscow or are they misled by what Mr. Garvin calls "sincere ignorance"?

In case an impatient reader may feel that all this was written in one of Mr. Garvin's off-moments, let me quote from the same paper's "diplomatic correspondent."

"General Franco so clearly has the best present title," he tells us, "to be the government of Spain—will have to be recognized as such the moment he captures Madrid—that any further evidence of Russian assistance to the Reds will become in international law a matter of Russian aggression against Spain."

In short, now that it has been abundantly proved that Italy, Germany, and Portugal have been assisting the rebels against the legal democratic government of Spain, and that Russia alone among the anti-fascist countries is threatening to assist that government, the people who read and write the *Observer* believe that international law is being broken, not by Italy, Germany, and Portugal, but by Russia.

Let us remember precisely what Russia threatens to do. It is not a question of Russians fighting Franco. It is simply a question of Russia allowing a legitimate government of a friendly power to buy arms with good hard cash.

Under international law it is illegal for a foreign country to supply rebels against a legal friendly government in any circumstances. Germany, Italy, and Portugal have broken international law in this particular; for though the British Foreign Office claims to have no evidence of this, such evidence has been put before the public in a form that cannot be denied.

Under international law it is perfectly legal for a foreign country to supply arms to the legal government of a friendly power. It is also legal, no doubt, to refuse to supply arms, as France and England have done, but there is nothing to stop Russia selling if she desires.

Yet in these circumstances it is probable that the majority, or at least many millions of

Liston Oak

Francisco Largo Caballero

Englishmen would back up the contentions of Mr. J. L. Garvin and the *Observer's* diplomatic correspondent. It is equally certain that a very large number of Englishmen will oppose with life and liberty the logical outcome of such a point of view. And that brings us to the really vital thing revealed by the Spanish tragedy. *We have come to the end of a period of national wars. There will never again be a united nation fighting against another united nation. War from now on will involve civil war.*

It does not matter what combination of powers is opposed to another combination on paper; in every country those who think like Mr. Garvin will be on one side and those who think otherwise on the other.

It is no use mincing matters—we English have a habit of fixing our attention on the delinquencies of foreign governments and letting our own be forgotten—the British government has not been as generous as certain others in its aid to Spanish fascists, but it has been fully as parsimonious in its sympathy to the Spanish government. Our consuls have not even troubled to disguise their sympathies with the illegal enemies of the legal government to which they have been accredited. In some cases they have even refused to help British subjects who have got into difficulties because they have been sympathetic to the lawful rulers of Spain. Our Home Office has refused admission as "undesirable aliens" to scores of Spanish citizens who could not remotely be considered "Red." I know of cases of Spanish business men turned back at Croydon, although they had come to give orders to British firms, simply because they came from the part of Spain controlled by the Spanish legal government. Our Foreign Office has not yet been able to find a particle of evidence that Portugal has helped the rebels, although such evidence is forthcoming in quantity.

The simple fact is that Europe is divided into two halves, the Fascist International and the Anti-fascist International, and our government has done all it can to give comfort to the first to embarrass the second.

What is the Anti-fascist International? It is Russia, nine-tenths of France, one-half of England, and some smaller and more civilized countries, such as the Scandinavian. Our government, judged by its actions and inactions, belongs to the Fascist International, along with Mr. Garvin and the average reader of the *Observer* and the rest of the conservative press, both dignified and gutter.

The coming of fascism to Spain directly threatens the following Empire sea routes:

1. Mallorca is now virtually an Italian colony. Our Foreign Office must know that. There is incontrovertible evidence that Count Rossi rules the island; that there are several hundred Italian bombers on the island and 15,000 troops officered by Italians in the interests of the rebels; there is uninterrupted landing of Italian war-supplies from Italian ships, and at the same time the island is almost completely cut off from the outside world.

Does anyone really suppose that Italy will abandon Mallorca? Is it not certain that she will remain, and thus establish a powerful base in the western Mediterranean? The immediate value of this is that Barcelona, the most important port on the Mediterranean, and except for Marseilles the only non-fascist port, is threatened with destruction—may have been destroyed by the time this can be read in print. But beyond this, Mallorca is a first-class prize for fascism and a long step forward to making the Mediterranean a fascist lake.

2. Ceuta, opposite Gibraltar, in fascist hands closes the Mediterranean. British imperialist policy has always taken great pains to see that the opposite coast to Gibraltar should be held by a weak power. It was for this purpose that British imperialists participated in the breaking-up of Morocco; they feared the effect on the Mediterranean route of a French menace opposite Gibraltar, and they insisted on Spain being left in charge, because Spain, they assumed, could be more easily managed. So vital was this policy considered that British imperialists on more than one occasion risked a war to perpetuate it; for in those days they were not represented by a "Peace at Any Price" government. So important indeed was this policy that it finally had a very important part in the causation of the Great War. A fascist Spain will certainly be a weak Spain, but its weakness will play into the hands of Italy and Germany and *against* traditional British policy.

3. The Canary Isles are already halfway to being controlled by Germany. Lufthansa aeroplanes paved the way, and when on July 18 the rebellion broke out, their wings, decorated with the swastika, hovered over the villages of the islands, while their pilots dropped leaflets in favor of the rebels. It will be interesting to see how South Africa reacts to a situation in which the Canary Islands have passed into the power of the Fascist International.

4. Fernando Po, of no possible importance to General Franco's present plans, staged a rebellion in his favor during month of October. The really interesting point to note about this is that Fernando Po is an island immediately off the particular piece of Africa that Germany hopes one day to have as a colony.

So much for the effect of a fascist victory in Spain on the British imperial sea routes. Let us consider another aspect. Our only real ally is France. Of course in theory we are all members one of another and of the

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Maurice Becker

Goering: "I've done without butter. Now must I give up bread too?"
Hitler: "If you'll be patriotic a little longer we'll all have pie in the sk— I mean the Ukraine."

League of Nations, but any practical statesman knows that there has been substituted for that League two Internationals, one of fascist powers, the other of potentially anti-fascist powers. Our government is far more afraid of communism than of fascism; it refuses, therefore, to regard Russia as a potential ally; if it has any hope of saving democracy in England from fascism abroad, its one chance is a powerful France. Consider how France has been weakened by aiding the Fascist International to triumph in Spain.

France may lose control of the sea-routes between her African possessions and herself. In any war with Germany and Italy it would then be possible to prevent the landing in France of any colonial troops. Thus one of the essentials of German preparatory strategy may be accomplished. Instead of immunity on her southern frontier, France may now have to expect, in any future war, air attack from beyond the Pyrenees. In a few brief months fascism may create two new frontiers for France to defend, one towards Belgium, the other towards Spain. A democratic England's sole ally will have been crippled.

There can be only two explanations of the complacency of the British government in the face of such facts as these. Either it has no real policy but only a vacillating hope-for-the-best attitude, or it is very well satisfied with the way things are going. Most people seem to believe that the first is nearer the truth.

The government itself argues that a weak policy has been forced on it because the peace ballot and labor opposition to rearmament and recruiting have left it defenseless. Actually, if we adopt a realist attitude and admit that the natural alignment for any future war is England-France-Russia versus Germany-Italy-Japan, the anti-fascist powers have a far greater armament superiority, especially in the air, than they are ever likely to have again. A government determined to save democracy from fascism would call the bluff of the Fascist International now, before it is too late. By so doing it would not only threaten the growing danger before that danger was fully grown, but capture the very groups who refuse to help to strengthen a government for purposes which they believe to be suspect.

MR. DUFF COOPER cannot get anyone to join his army, and blames the pacifists. It would be possible to recruit five thousand men in a few weeks to go to the aid of democracy where democracy is at present in danger, between the Straits of Gibraltar and the Pyrenees.

But the opinion is growing that there is nothing vacillating and weak about the British government's policy at all; that it is consistent and well-planned. Ethiopia and then Spain seem to be ample evidence that we as a nation are being sold into fascist captivity. If that is the object of its policy the government has done admirably from its own point of view. We need not suppose that Mr. Baldwin wants democracy to go under in England; we can do him the credit of assuming that his real delight would be to escape into eighteenth-century England; but the betrayal not only of democracy but of imperialism is being forced upon him by the one overmastering necessity of his policy. That necessity is simply this: *that in no part of the world must a Popular Front government be allowed to succeed.* That is why the route to India is no longer to be defended; that is why the greatest crime against humanity that our generation has seen, the murder of the Spanish people, is regarded with more than complacency in official quarters.

MONTH after month in these days we are seeing all over Europe the lights that shine in the faces of free men and women go out one by one. In many places they are not likely to be rekindled in our generation. When we realize that here, too, in England there are those who desire this new Dark Age to come, not only over there, but here also, the Spanish tragedy becomes a human tragedy, the battle they are fighting, not theirs alone but ours also. We turn in humility to the humble folk of Spain, republicans, Socialists, Communists, Syndicalists, Anarchists who are groping in horror with their bare hands to save the light from flickering out. We turn in anger to those in England who want the light to die, and we cry in words to which Spain has given a new meaning, *No Pasaran;* They Shall Not Pass This Way.

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Spain and the Artist

The present world situation, says an internationally known dance-mime, requires a clearer definition of the artist's job

By Angna Enters

WOMEN are supposed to be more prone to tears. Yet, though the bitterness and seeming hopelessness of the lot of the Greeks or Egyptians or Near East masses generally, among whom I worked for two half-years, was a never-ending lash, lacerating the spirit, I was not moved to tears so much as to indignation. Somehow the overpowering monuments—Sphinxes, Parthenons, etc.—seemed to obliterate them as individuals. I tried to visualize this in one of my abstract paintings entitled "The Source," in which the pyramids crush their stunning weight on one of those typically petrified little villages which line the Nile. But Spain's "monuments" have not obliterated the faces of the Spanish masses. And it may be that because I lived with the Spanish people for seven summers or springs—through their first 1931 political revolution—that I see their strong, beautiful faces.

The little seventy-year-old cake-woman, trudging up and down the steep hill of our tiny white town as it seemed to float quiveringly in the blazing Mediterranean sun, had never had a real meal unless it was a gift. She covered her cakes with gauze against the flies only when she came to the fussy *Americana's* villa. She earned hunger for the seventy years of her lean life, yet she wept as if losing a daughter when she embraced the *Americana* in farewell. Then she gave me the proud clenched-fist *"Salud!"* with a noble majesty I have never seen duplicated in the purest archaic Greek sculpture. Dolores, the *Americana's muchacha,* offered her señorita a haven in her *casa*—a home of two small rooms which had to house her mother, widowed by the "Christian" wars in Morocco, and four brothers. This was offered as a protection against the shooting back and forth with the fascists, at a time when to be a *rico* was to be suspected, and justifiably, of fascism.

The *muchacha,* too, wept and smiled her girlishly defiant *"Salud!"* as the People's Front automobile drove me past fascist snipers to safety. The feverish, indescribable joy of my friend, the professor of the guitar, as he wiped his spectacles and spoke of a dream—hoped for by the artists and writers who had argued politics in Malaga's Sociedad Economica all their adult years. The exhilaration and triumph graven on the furrowed, bronzed faces of the tired old village fishermen, who since boyhood had had to toil at backbreaking labor which a donkey could not do—they too, with their red armbands, gave each other "Salud!" There was a flame in these men and women as they walked their Malaga streets arm-in-arm, singing of freedom—that flame which soars ecstatically in their wild pristine *flamenco* song.

A curious apprehension clutched me as the British destroyer, taking us to Gibraltar, steamed off. A heavy mist rose which completely hid Malaga, as though to cut off Spain from the world forever. This depression may have arisen from the illness of months, but I could not shake a sense of enveloping doom for the ragged men I had left behind patrolling the roads, with ridiculously inadequate arms, against the oncoming Moors—in defense of homes whose principal luxuries were a hand-made fancy bedspread, a flower vase for the center of the table, and an enlarged photograph of some deceased relative.

And so when, returned to America, I heard that Spanish artists and writers were fighting along with their people for a chance to live in a world which was not Nazi or Fascist, my heart dissolved into tears as I was again able to see the smiling faces near to me breaking through the mist of "civilized" oppression, intolerance, and superstition.

While I was giving theater performances during a "split-week" in Los Angeles this fall, a group of New Theater girls and young men came backstage and earnestly thanked me for not doing abstract numbers, and for stressing social content. I always have hoped that social content would be apparent in my theater—although naturally this is only one of its ends, entertainment not being the least of them. Yet I understood why these girls and men stressed social content. It was a healthy and inevitable reaction against what can only be termed the Oh-the-pain-of-it! cult of the "modern-primitive" dance. In the normal sense all fine art is abstract, but you do not have to say in extenuation of Leonardo, Titian, Shakespeare, Bach, Renoir, Debussy, Picasso, Rouault, Joyce, or Proust that they are "abstract"—in the sense that Webster's dictionary defines abstraction as "absence of mind."

Rockwell Kent

The "modern-primitive" dancers—like their pre-Raphaelite grandmothers and "interpretative" Delsarte mothers before them—are in their themes hypnotically preoccupied with all the fashionable soul-sicknesses, nature-lusts, and yet are themselves rarely imbued with that health which, it is argued without much anthropological proof, was synonymous with primitive man. Theirs is rather a smug "spiritual" concern—in a watery Nietzschean terminology—with health, which is a kind of non-primitive introspection usually born of a very recognizable type of psychological frustration. A decadent movement, it is born and dependent upon a middle-class society, which prefers to see its own soul-sicknesses exalted as art. It is a school of what its members refer to as true emotions—predicated upon the belief that the mass of society has no other function than to support these true-emotion artists without any expectation of return *quid pro quo.* I mean nothing more than an awareness that we are living in this world and not in a pseudo-mystic and "psychic" state, impinged on a medievally threaded needle which sews up an art into an academic form so "pure" that anything living is regarded as profane corruption, and "not dance."

The Los Angeles girls and men were thinking of this abstract æsthetic—waspishly pontificated in the columns of a New York morning newspaper (converted into a "house organ") which has sought to dominate and has made a yardstick of the limitations of a small group, using this "critical" spearhead of dogma to cudgel all who ignore their rules. This one critical spearhead, for example, excommunicates me regularly from the sacred precincts of the dance every year—although dance as such long since has ceased to play a principal part in my theater—yet insists on covering my purely mime work as dance, unlike the remainder of the American and British press.

I have always declined to accept any boundaries in the theater save my own limitations—especially boundaries set in a spirit of frustrated formalism and parochial provincialism. The strangest claims are made by this parochialism. You must look at the dance as you look at a painting by Titian or listen to a composition by Beethoven. This is what in less elegant circles, where twelve-dollar words such as "kinesthetic" are not used, is called lifting yourself by your bootstraps. Apparently neither Beethoven nor Titian had anything in their minds or spirits—and nothing to communicate. Courtesans interested Titian only "abstractly." Swift wrote *Gulliver's Travels* for children. Gorky was just slumming in *The Lower Depths.* They were born with true emotions because they were born artists like our dance cultists. And the true-emotions dancers can be expressed by one and only one form—their own. Ballet, taps, ballroom dancing are low forms, entertainment; and "high art" is never entertaining. Aristophanes wasn't serious when he was poking fun—serious art is never (consciously) funny;

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satirists such as Voltaire, Hogarth, Daumier, our own Ring Lardner, John Sloan, William Gropper, and Art Young are not "serious" artists, but are just trying to be funny.

It seems to me that my irreverence towards the colossal effrontery and ignorance which exalts pseudo-Blake drawing—figures with hands cocked to ears for "visions" and with claims of "seerishness" which never have been made for man's greatest creative figures—is sorely needed. Today, when man battles in all human fields for freedom, he has a right to expect more from the artist than self-seduction. Each artist, whatever his political affiliations, if any, has no choice, if he wishes freedom, other than to ally himself, in his own idiosyncratic way, but unequivocally, in the cause of man's liberation, economically, æsthetically, and spiritually. This is what the Los Angeles group of girls and young men had in their hearts. It is what the Spanish artists and writers—and the foreign artists and writers who are helping them—have in their hearts. As a mime, I believe it to be my privilege to use history, past and present, universal and local, every theater art within my powers, music, costume, literature, painting—anything in modes and manners, to focus the related aspects and nuances of human behavior, sacred and profane, for which there are no words, to the end that what I see can have meaning to audiences, through laughter, satire, pity, or terror, as illumination on man's road to freedom.

"Oh well, if the Fascists did it, that's different!" Gardner Rea

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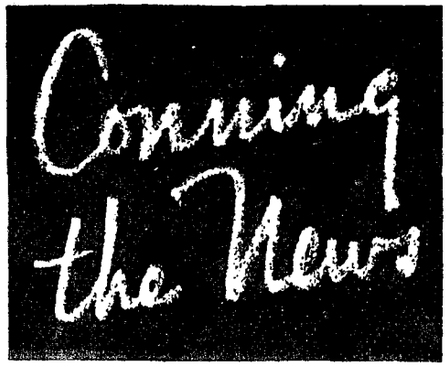

Covering the events of the week ending December 28

IT HAS become something of a habit for Americans to look abroad for news of the gravest importance, and the past week saw an intensification of the trend. During most of the seven-day period, front pages of major American dailies were almost exclusively gazettes of foreign affairs. At most, one or two domestic datelines appeared, the other six or seven columns stemming from Madrid, Berlin, Tokyo, Nanking, Buenos Aires, Paris, Rome, and London. And from all these capitals came little that could pass for Christmas cheer.

Least of all was there cause for rejoicing in Madrid, where Hitler's aviators bombed and shelled the city on Christmas Eve, killing at least five persons and injuring scores of others, many of them on their way to church. These yuletide gifts from the heavens did not prevent a dying pope in Rome from excoriating communism as "a new menace more threatening than ever before for the whole world, principally for Europe and its Christian civilization." Thousands of Chinese, whether or not they cared about Christmas, found cause for joy in the melodramatic release of Chiang Kai-shek after thirteen days of captivity at the hands of Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang. But Japan, on the other hand, had much to rue from the strange turn of events, for continued dissension would have been grist to her imperial mill. And the Pan-American Peace Conference at Buenos Aires, after almost a month of continuous negotiations, finally struggled to an end, with a long list of agreements the significance of which has yet to be tested. More important than the verbal assurances was the failure to settle the interminable Chaco dispute between Paraguay and Bolivia. All in all, a foreboding holiday season.

NAZI strategy showed itself more glaringly than ever to be a flirtation with world war designed to blackmail France and Great Britain. This time the demands were for colonies and loans. Paris and London were alarmed to learn that Major-General Wilhelm Faupel, Nazi ambassador to the Burgos junta, had returned to Berlin with a demand for at least 60,000 more German "volunteers" for General Franco. Downing Street felt apprehensive at the prospect of German soldiers in Spain who might remain as a permanent army of occupation should the fascists triumph. And heightening British agitation was the discovery that Franco had been paying Hitler with ore from the British-owned Rio Tinto mines. For these reasons and because neither Paris nor London would relish Nazi control of the eastern entrance to the Mediterranean, Foreign Minister Delbos of France and British Foreign Minister Eden told their respective German ambassadors that another influx of German "volunteers" into Spain in anything like the quantity demanded by Faupel would bring war in its wake. They offered Hitler the alternative of some big loans to help the Nazis out of their increasingly strangulating economic crisis as well as the transfer of some mandates from the former Allies to their former foe. Togoland and the Cameroons were prominently mentioned in this connection.

Whether any such swap could be arranged was rendered rather doubtful by the sudden crisis over the seizure of the German freighter *Palos*. Berlin issued an ultimatum to Madrid demanding the release of the vessel, but the Spanish government stood pat on the ground that the *Palos* was filled to the brim with 1500 tons of war supplies for the Spanish fascists.

In offering Hitler a deal, France and Britain relied in part on Mussolini, whose alliance with Hitler was reported to be weakening. Reports had German soldiers greatly predominating over Italians in Spain, although the reverse was known to be the case until a short time ago. How far Il Duce was prepared to go along with London and Paris could not be established with any definiteness, but should he go no further than his own interests dictate, which is most probable, the French and British would seem merely to have invited more trouble for themselves in the future.

The war front was practically as quiet as the Non-Intervention Committee, winter doing for the one what timidity and faithlessness to agreements have done to the other. Nevertheless, the government forces gained ground in the Boadilla del Monte area and the fascists failed in attempts to cut the important line of communications running between Madrid and Valencia.

THE fantastic circumstances surrounding the sudden release of Chiang Kai-shek were of a piece with the whole kidnaping, in that the details gleaned from cables made it difficult to get at the significance beneath. On the surface, Marshal Chang suddenly became a much-chastened young man, ready to pay with his life, if need be, for the indiscretion of kidnaping the most powerful man in China. Chiang Kai-shek, on the other hand, assumed much of the blame for the episode and was reported to be remarkably disposed toward leniency for the Young Marshal.

Chiang's first order on arriving at Nanking with his wife and W. H. Donald, his Australian adviser, was to order withdrawal of government troops from all Shensi fronts. One story had it that Chang confessed that the whole affair was based on an unfortunate misunderstanding to the effect that Chiang intended to dismiss him and disband his army. A reading of Chiang's diary, seized when the generalissimo was captured, convinced him that he was wrong. Another point of difference between the two, namely, that Chang was not receiving government money for the support of his troops, was cleared up when it was found that a subordinate had been quietly intercepting the flow of gold.

All this sounded very thin, and experienced observers took their cue from a statement made by Chiang to newspapermen in Nanking. Declaring his intention to deal leniently with the insurgents, Chiang remarked that he had already told the Young Marshal: "You have been deceived by reactionaries." Far from pointing to a Communist plot, this cryptic statement would seem to implicate the Japanese militarists. This explanation of the episode gained credence from the fact that it was the Japanese press that originally broke the story, which appeared in Tokyo papers several hours before the Chinese knew anything about it.

Chagrined perhaps at the Chinese fiasco, and in any case bent on presenting a good face to the world while speeding up her war program, Japan broached negotiations during the week for a United States-Japanese agreement in the Pacific. The proposed conference would discuss neutrality for the Philippines, fortification of Pacific islands, and other problems of the Far East. But inasmuch as Washington frowns on bilateral conferences, little was expected to come of the proposal.

WHILE President Roosevelt, back in Washington, piously extolled the Buenos Aires conference, at which he had called for democracy in the Western World (see page 11), one of the Latin American countries was taking a big stride toward out-and-out fascism. The long-brewing conflict between Cuba's President Miguel Mariano Gomez and Col. Fulgencio Batista, chief of staff of the Cuban army and Cuban fascist No. 1, finally burst into the open. And when the smoke cleared, Gomez had been retired to private life. His exit, long heralded because of his refusal to take Batista's orders, came by way of impeachment proceedings. Cuba's Batista-bossed House of Representatives convicted Gomez, 22 to 12, after a farcical trial revolving around the grave charge that he had threatened to veto a tax bill backed by the little colonel.

As Gomez prepared to leave the country for the United States, Vice-President Federico Laredo Bru was sworn in to replace him. His tenure of office, it was thought, would not be long. General Rafaele Montalvo, Batista's right-hand man in the Gomez cabinet, and now secretary of state, is expected to become president after a graceful retirement by Bru. Gomez issued a statement, which no Cuban paper dared to print in defiance of Batista's orders, in which he challenged the Cuban army chief to "come out in the open and proclaim a government by force." Behind Ba-

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tista was seen the supporting force of American Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, whose office was the scene of hectic conferences in the days leading up to the ousting of Gomez.

DOMESTICALLY, the week was quiet, with holiday sentiments prevailing. But the Christmas spirit was a thin layer, barely concealing the continued tightening of lines for political and labor struggles ahead. Characteristic was the scene in New York's City Hall park, where carolers singing "Adeste Fidelis" were afforded a running accompaniment by dismissed W.P.A. workers chanting "We want jobs."

As the opening of the congressional session approached, there was no doubt that relief appropriations would be the first major battle, and that the results of the conflict would clearly mark the direction of Roosevelt's second administration. While progressives prepared to fight, as utterly insufficient, the President's proposal for a $500,000,000 appropriation to last until June 30, reactionary Democrats found even that sum "unnecessary." "If overhead is reduced and proper economy applied," said Senator King of Utah, "$250,000,000 to $300,000,000 should be enough."

Indignant at the threat of a drastic slash, the Workers' Alliance of America prepared to fight. Alliance officials pointed out that even the Roosevelt proposal would mean laying off 800,000 W.P.A. workers, and called for telegrams to congressmen demanding a relief appropriation of $1,125,000,000. To press its demands, the Alliance issued a call to the unemployed, W.P.A. workers, trade unions, civic organizations, and farm groups, to stage nation-wide demonstrations on January 9, and follow them up by a march on Washington, scheduled for January 15.

Not satisfied with projected relief cuts, Congressional economy hounds were reported hard on the trail of several important New Deal agencies. Political prophets predicted attacks on large sections of the Resettlement Administration, the National Youth Administration, and whole divisions of the W.P.A., such as the theater projects. It was considered likely that moves would be made to liquidate completely the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration. Other pre-session congressional discussions centered about the neutrality law, due to expire May 1. Chances of broadening the act along more progressive lines were not bright. If the act is extended, as is fully expected, it was considered unlikely that it will permit any distinction between an aggressor and a nation acting in defense. Moreover, if the President has his way, the law will be extended to civil-war situations, thus making it impossible for the United States to maintain normal relations with the friendly government of Spain during its suppression of the fascist rebels. Sentiment of this sort was crystallized in the bitter opposition of Senator Pittman (D., Nev.) to the enrolling of American volunteers for service to the Spanish government. The widely publicized project of the Socialist Party to raise a corps of 500 recruits met with a proposal among influential Senators to take away citizenship from Americans who volunteer to fight in foreign wars.

Lester Polakov

Batista—Ordered a new president

CHRISTMAS DAY found something like 70,000 Americans out on strike. Glass workers of the Pittsburgh Flat Glass Co. and the Libbey-Owens-Ford Co. accounted for 15,000 of the total. Five thousand were workers of the Kelsey-Hayes Wheel Co., who returned to work in holiday mood three days later with a sizable victory under their belts. Unable to withstand the heavy losses, the automotive chiefs came to terms with the sit-in strikers, who won a 75-cent hourly wage minimum, assurances of no discrimination, and an agreement to adjust questions of overtime pay and wage increases for those making more than 75 cents an hour. Likewise victorious were the 600 workers of the Detroit branch factory of the Aluminum Co. of America, who accepted terms arranged by federal conciliators to bring their two-week strike to an end.

Indications were plentiful that the Kelsey-Hayes and Aluminum Co. strikes were only preliminaries to a major drive of organized labor in the automotive industries. Said Homer Martin, international president of the United Automobile Workers, "We are going to have collective bargaining in all of the auto industry." A conference early in the week between Martin and William S. Knudsen, executive vice-president of General Motors, resulted in the latter's suggestion that labor's grievances, particularly the speed-up, be taken up with individual plant managers. John L. Lewis commented: "That's not collective bargaining, that's just evasion of its responsibility on the part of General Motors." The C.I.O. leader declared that eventually General Motors would have to adopt the "logical policy" of making an agreement with the union to cover all its plants. There followed a letter from Martin to Alfred P. Sloan, president of General Motors, demanding a single policy on "issues national in scope," such as "collective bargaining, seniority rights, the speed-up, rates and methods of pay, and other conditions of employment."

By far the greatest number of the week's strikers were maritime workers along the Atlantic, Pacific, and Gulf coasts. Persistent newspaper predictions of an imminent settlement of the strike were branded as groundless by west-coast labor journals. Announced the *Western Worker*: "The attitude of the strikers is one of watchful waiting, not relaxing their vigilance, their picket lines, or their publicity campaign until a satisfactory settlement is reached, not just talked about, and the basic demands of the unions are met." And 7000 delegates, representing all maritime unions, at a mass meeting in San Francisco decided unanimously that no striking union would consider settlement proposals until all marine unions were ready to do so unitedly.

East Coast strike leader Joe Curran led a delegation of seamen to Washington to demand a ninety-day stay on the reactionary Copeland "fink" bill, which nevertheless went into effect on December 26. Comparing the bill to a similar law in Australia, the Joint Strike Marine Council condemned its provision for a continuous discharge book, which would be stamped and dated at the completion of every voyage, and which would afford shipping companies a perfect blacklist weapon. President Roosevelt and secretaries Roper and Perkins refused to receive Curran.

Support for the maritime strikers came from an unexpected quarter when Lawrence Simpson refused to work on board the S.S. *President Roosevelt,* carrying him back from Nazi Germany. "It would be unfair to other sailors who are on strike," said the irrepressible Communist. Whereupon he was relegated to the ship's brig. Plans for a welcome-home mass meeting, under the joint auspices of the International Labor Defense, the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, and the striking members of the International Seamen's Union, were wired to Simpson. Came the reply: "Accept plan for meeting for Jan. 6, and wish to thank you for your work for my release. And thank you that I am alive today. Send greetings from our comrades in Germany. Build the United Front. Hold the fort."

Abysmal conditions in Pennsylvania's anthracite coal fields came under official scrutiny during the week when Governor Earle made an inspection tour of the area. Not the conditions of the inhabitants, but the widespread prevalence of "bootleg" mining by individuals on company lands led to the investigation. The governor declared that such operations violated the basic principles of American government, but conceded that for the miners it was a case of bootleg mining or starvation. In any case, said the governor, the use of state troops to eject the independent miners was "out of the question." Instead, he appointed a commission to study all possible solutions, including state purchase and operation of the closed mines. With good reason, the Pennsylvania authorities feared that armed interference would provoke rebellion, since even the sheriff of the county, speaking of the bootleggers, refused to "condemn a man honestly trying to support his family."

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The Results at Buenos Aires

There was more to the events there than press dispatches would indicate

By Arnold Reid

TO many who accepted official claims made for the Eighth Inter-American Conference, the events at Buenos Aires, even as reflected in the over-considerate reports of the metropolitan press, must have proven disconcerting. For it had been held that a new day had dawned in Inter-American relations; that United States imperialism belonged to a bygone era; that old rancours had vanished and complete harmony reigned. "It may be said," a contributor to the *Nation* ventured, "that the United States has at present no enemies on the American continent." With the conference under way a week, however, a correspondent of the New York *Times* cabled, "The promised unanimity of opinion here has been chiefly notable for its absence." Unbelieving Mexico, came the reports, with an eye toward its northern neighbor, pressed for a pact outlawing direct or indirect intervention in the affairs of any nation. Though the United States delegation was forced to take it gracefully, the passage of the non-intervention treaty was a brusque reminder that delegate Sumner Welles himself had violated a previous non-intervention pledge while he was ambassador to Cuba.

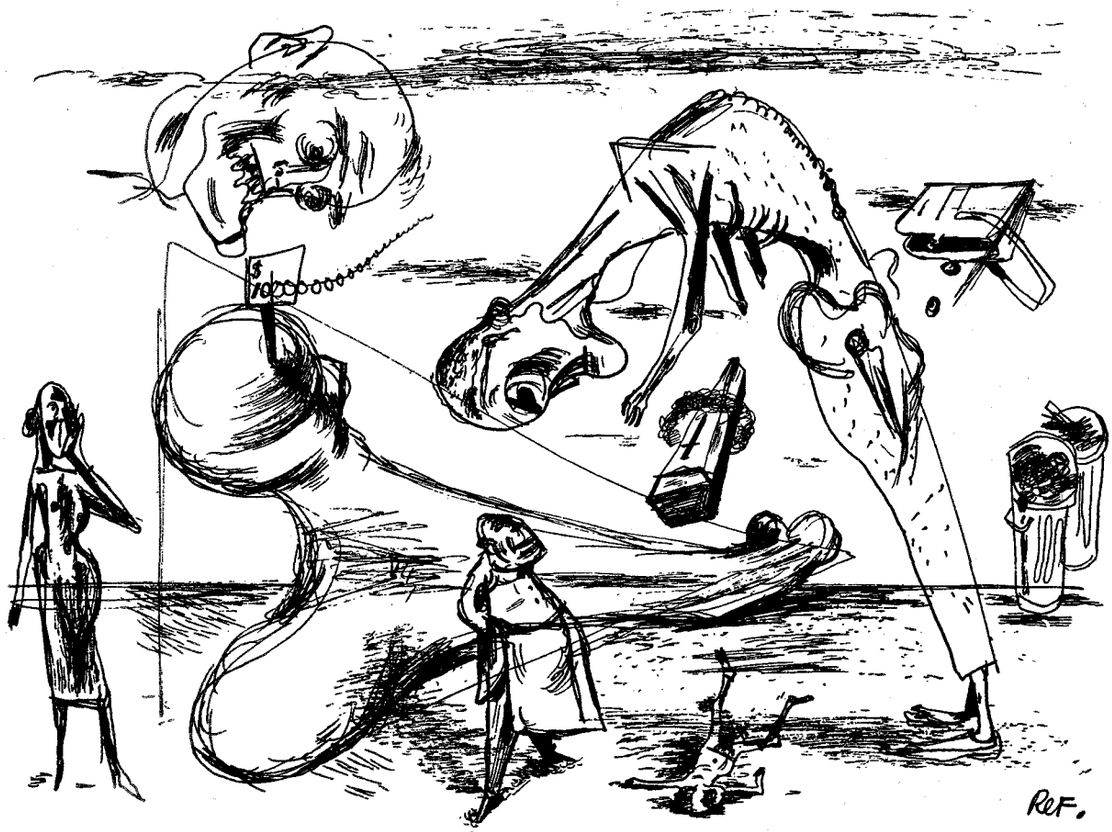
Though the United States delegation asserted that it was interested in Inter-American Unity solely for purposes of peace preservation, there were delegates who insisted on viewing this plea as a blind for the extension of U.S. influence on the continent. For them, Pan-Americanism was still Pan-Yankeeism.

Displaying a sudden interest in Patagonian livestock, Harper Sibley had flown from Washington to Argentina for the United States Chamber of Commerce. And Secretary of State Cordell Hull, speaking in Rio de Janeiro, sang praises of the coffee of Brazil ("Your coffee refreshes and makes fragrant our breakfast table when the morning air is purest"), injecting a plea meanwhile to Brazilians for greater consideration to U.S. exporters who were hard pressed by German competition. Here was the maximum opportunity for boosting the Administration's reciprocal trade program, hailed by James A. Farrell of the National Foreign Trade Council as "the logical method by which to increase our exports."

True to the Pan-American tradition, the Buenos Aires Conference was serving as an instrument to extend the political and commercial domination of the United States in Latin America, with particular regard for Argentina and Brazil, where Great Britain still retains a hold.

BUT this did not deprive the conference of significance as a peace gathering. Talk of peace and amity, it must be noted, had been the stock in trade of Pan-Americanism since its inception in the eighties. But the three-year holocaust of the Gran Chaco, in which one hundred thousand lives were lost, proved how barren of peace results previous conferences had been.

A changed world situation, however, as compared with earlier conferences, made it possible for the Buenos Aires meeting to assay the problem of peace preservation with opportunity for genuine achievement. In 1931 Japan undertook its territorial offensive in China. Then came the drives of fascist Germany and Italy for violent revision of existing state boundaries and a reallotment of colonial spoils. These developments found the ruling class of the United States, which felt that it would not stand to gain from an immediate world shake-up, aligned with the nations which did



High Cost of Living

Lithograph by Anton Refregier (American Artists Congress Exhibition)

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not desire the outbreak of war. United States imperialism continued to yearn for greater stakes in the Far East, and in South America its policy with relation to Great Britain was anything but passive. But its disinclination toward war for the time being was manifest and enhanced the possibilities of the Buenos Aires parley as a peace gathering. The change which had come over the League of Nations when the fascist powers abandoned it and the Soviet Union entered as the champion of collective security, had also presented the Buenos Aires delegates with changed prospects. And the Spanish crisis, heightening the war tension to the extreme, endowed its deliberations with exceptional importance.

President Roosevelt's opening address was decidedly in accord with the peace aims set for the conference. In a speech earlier in the year, at Chautauqua, New York, the President had all but named the fascist powers as the instigators of war. At Buenos Aires he made an even more precise indictment of the states "which proclaim most loudly that they require war as an instrument of their policy." But Roosevelt contributed little beyond indictment, though the latter was in itself of substantial value to the cause of peace. It was left for President Justo of Argentina, who followed Roosevelt at the speaker's tribune, to project the main issue before the conference, i.e., whether the approach toward peace preservation should be exclusively regional, or whether regional efforts should be integrated with efforts for universal peace. For the benefit of delegates who were bent on isolationism, Justo pointedly recalled:

> As President Roosevelt said in his invitation to this conference [February 1936—A. R.], it is very necessary to study means of reënforcing from the Americas the peace making actions carried out by the League of Nations, of which most countries here represented are members. On the day that it is possible to coördinate instruments of American origin with the League of Nations covenant and other treaties which tend to consecrate law, justice, equality, and morality in the relations among states, a great decisive step will be taken on the road toward universal peace.

The Argentine government, under the influence of Downing Street, had traditionally upheld the League nations in Pan-American conferences, as a counter-balance to U.S. penetration in South America. So it came to pass that in the Buenos Aires meeting, the Justo government, which is anything but progressive in its domestic policies, supported an advanced tendency in international relations, that of world coöperation for peace.

In his own address, President Roosevelt had anticipated Justo's remarks. He had asked, "Can we, the republics of the New World, help the Old World to avert the catastrophe which impends?" and affirmed in reply, "Yes, I am confident that we can." But hopes that Roosevelt would, *in practice,* veer toward a universal approach to the problem of peace maintenance, were largely dispelled when the United States delegation placed before the conference Secretary Hull's program for conciliation and neutrality. Unlike the Covenant of the League of Nations, which calls for collective action to curb aggressors, Mr. Hull's plan recognized no distinction between belligerents and called for embargoes and loan prohibitions against aggressor and victim alike. Automatically, therefore, the plan would have contravened the Covenant of the League of Nations. In addition it called for a Permanent Inter-American Consultative Committee, which would have tended to cancel all authority in the Americas for Geneva's leading bodies. Symptomatically, the Nazi Foreign Office, which was far from pleased with the conference on the whole, found it possible to commend Mr. Hull's plan for its implied attack on the principles of the League of Nations. The semi-official *Diplomatische Korrespondenz,* which took the opportunity, incidentally, to offer a weird distortion of the principle of collective security, observed: "Comparison of Mr. Hull's program with Geneva's methods makes apparent the difference between American and Geneva ideas. While the Geneva system seeks to secure peace by the organization of war against war through collective participation in war, America proceeds from the idea of peaceful arbitration. Out of this basic consideration and its experience in the World War has grown the United States neutrality policy. It will now find its logical conclusion in the creation of a Pan-American neutrality pact."

But the pleasure of the League's foes was short-lived. Mr. Hull's plan was staunchly defended by the delegation from Brazil, whose Hitlerite leanings are well known, and by some of the Central American countries, from whom independence of viewpoint was not to have been expected. But most of the other delegations, following the lead of Argentina, rallied to oppose the features in the U.S. proposal which spelled further alienation from Geneva. With evident foresight, the arrangements committee had provided that the debates be conducted behind closed doors. Thus much of the wrangling was concealed from the outside world. Mr. Hull's plan emerged from the committee rooms with its isolationist

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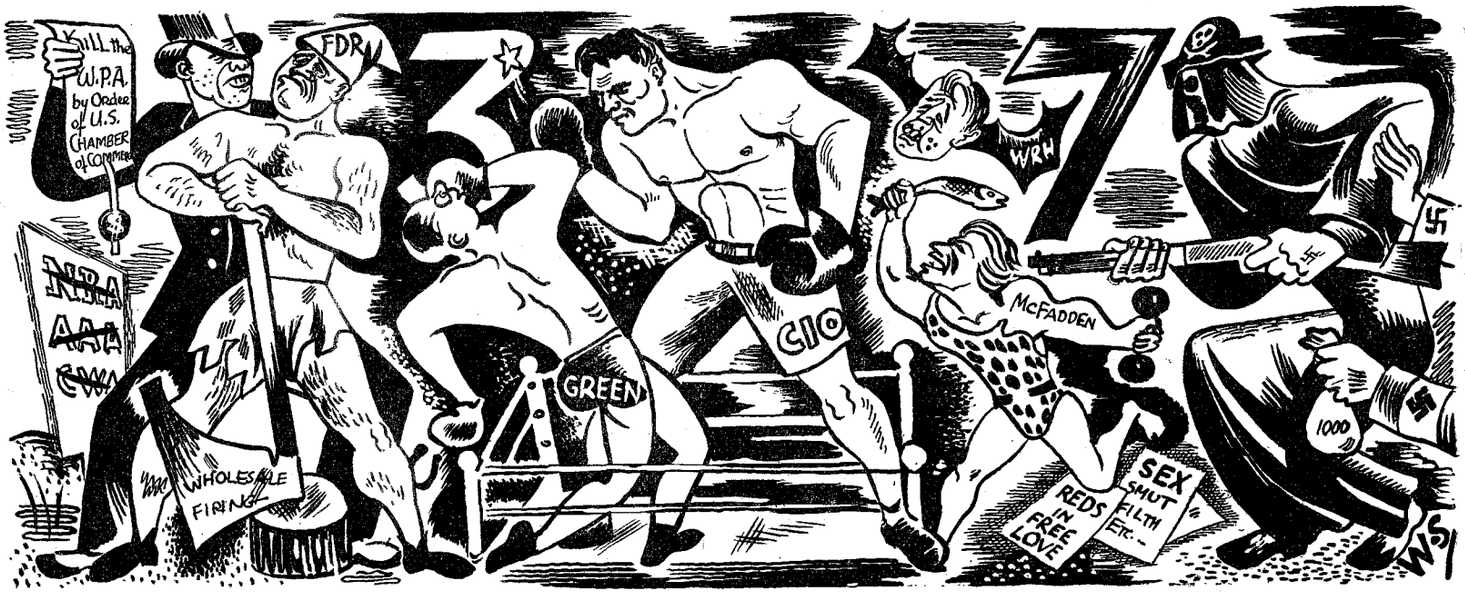

William Sanderson

wings generously clipped. The new Peace Convention, as made public by the State Department, cites in its opening passage President Roosevelt's promise that measures adopted by the conference "would advance the cause of world peace, inasmuch as the agreements which might be reached would supplement and reënforce the efforts of the League of Nations and of all other existing or future peace agencies." More than a faint suggestion is embodied in this quotation that Mr. Hull's neutrality plan had not been consistent with Roosevelt's words. In place of the proposed permanent Consultative Committee, provision was made for consultation when called for by events. And in place of the U.S. proposal for compulsory neutrality, it was agreed that in case of a state of war, signatory powers "may take into consideration" the imposition of embargoes and bans on loans. The conference eliminated much of the chaos which had obtained in the Inter-American treaty structure by adopting a convention coördinating the observance of existing treaties. And a "common and solitary" attitude was pledged in case of a threat to peace from within or outside the Western Hemisphere.

THE ultimate contribution of the conference to world peace cannot be judged from treaty texts. Whether or not the peace pledges will be observed, as well as the manner of their observance will be decided by the extent to which the peoples of the respective countries assert their wishes in the matter. This is particularly the case since the treaties adopted are, in the main, compromise measures, and lend themselves to conflicting interpretation in more than one respect. World safeguards for peace (and with them the peace of the Americas) may either be strengthened or weakened as a result of the newly pledged unity of the American nations in the matter of war and peace. In a common and solitary fashion they may now throw their weight on the side of the collective security efforts of the Soviet Union. If the isolationist dogma prevails, however, this support may be withheld. Then again, the pledge of a common stand for peace on the continent, may be reduced to nothing more than a device to provide the United States a secure "hinterland" for a future war of imperialist aggrandizement. Certain commentators are already noting with satisfaction that the conference, having bound Latin America to a common policy with the United States, would, in case the latter is involved in war outside this hemisphere, assure it abundant supplies of war materials from Latin America. Only the organized might of all-embracing people's movements for peace can assure that the decisions of the Inter-American Conference will be interpreted in accord with the desires of the masses of all countries for peace.

ANOTHER salient and novel feature of the conference was the impassioned defense of democratic government made by President Roosevelt. The President, to be sure, had not intended that too literal a connotation be placed on his words. That much was clear from his treatment of Dictator Getulio Vargas. On his journey southward, he had lauded Vargas with more fervor than could have been accounted for on the grounds of diplomatic exigency alone.

While Roosevelt was extolling constitutional government, General Somoza, in Nicaragua, was making ready to elect himself president after having ousted Dr. Sacasa from office through a military coup. In Peru three weeks earlier, Dictator Benavides had nullified the results of a presidential election because he was not pleased with the victorious candidate, who had the backing of the Apra Party and Communists. The Peruvian Congress obligingly extended Benavides's term by three years. In Cuba, Fulgencio Batista, made army dictator through the good offices of Sumner Welles, Roosevelt's aide, was preparing to give a *coup de grâce* to civil government by eliminating President Miguel Mariano Gomez. But democracy, if Roosevelt's words were to be taken at their face value, had already been attained in Latin America and the only problem that remained was that of safeguarding it from sinister influences from the Old World.

Even though Roosevelt had used the term in an elastic sense, his plea for democracy was welcome, if for no other reason than that, by juxtaposition, it helped place existing tyranny in bold relief. Much water had had to flow under the bridges since the days of Calvin Coolidge for a president of the United States openly to advocate popular government before a Pan-American Conference. The rising anti-imperialist and democratic movements in Latin America had brought the United States to modify its technique of domination. Already under Herbert Hoover it had initiated the "good neighbor" policy. In accordance with it, outwardly constitutional governments in Latin America, not patently identified with Washington, are as a rule considered to be more effective in maintaining U.S. control than the old-line puppet military rule. Furthermore, the growth of democratic sentiment in the United States, best illustrated on Election Day, makes the administration anxious to avoid the charge that it fosters reactionary dictatorships in Latin America. Finally, Roosevelt took up the cudgels for democracy as a form of rebuke to totalitarian Germany and Italy and military-fascist Japan. Germany and Japan have elbowed their way into the southern continent commercially, and Washington is well aware that the Nazis are already a factor of no mean importance in the internal politics of Brazil and Chile.

To argue that the administration cannot be expected consistently to favor the growth of real democracy in the countries subjugated by U.S. imperialism would be to labor the point. Roosevelt's espousal of democracy assumes importance, therefore, not so much for what his intentions may have been in delivering it, but for the use to which it can be put by the growing people's-front movements for democracy and national freedom. In their hands, it can become a vital agitational weapon to be used against the Vargases and Batistas who have established their anti-democratic governments through the good graces of the U.S. or British financial oligarchy.

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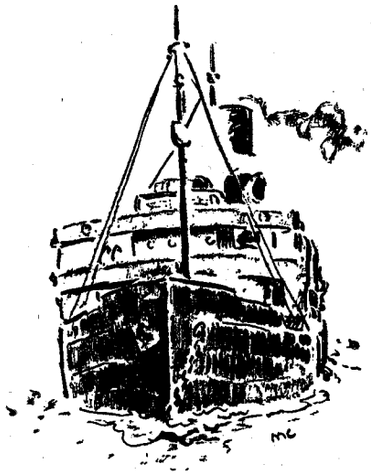
Headaches Afloat and Ashore

Being some illuminating revelations concerning the activities of the International Mercantile Marine Co.

By Thomas Bowen

IF JOE CURRAN owned any stock in the International Mercantile Marine Co., he would have one more grievance against the I.M.M. management. This is the company whose president, John Franklin, described the miscalled "mutiny" on the *California* as "a crime against the United States." It is the company whose board chairman, P.A.S. Franklin, described the present seamen's strike as "unfair and outrageous." Owning or controlling the Panama-Pacific, the United States, the American Merchant, and the American Pioneer lines, the I.M.M. is a big company. But its officers have no right to talk big. Judged even by its own capitalistic standards, under which any corporation that makes money is a good corporation, the I.M.M. has one of the worst records in the industrial history of the United States.

Organized in 1902 (by J. P. Morgan & Co.), with enough water in its stock to float its entire fleet, the company by 1915 had staggered into a receivership. Reorganized, it entered upon a brief period of War and post-War prosperity. From 1919 through 1921 an acute world-shortage of shipping enabled it to make a good profit. But as soon as world shipping had rebuilt into something approaching a normal tonnage, I.M.M.'s inability to compete in anything approaching a fair field immediately asserted itself. It has lost money in eleven out of the last fourteen years. It would probably have lost money in every year since 1922 except for a peculiar bookkeeping system which we shall try to explain below. Even on the surface, however, its losses have exceeded its profits by about $15,000,000. Losing an average of $1,000,000 a year for fifteen years is the management record of I.M.M. It is a record for which P.A.S. Franklin collected $100,000 a year salary in boom times, and $55,000 a year even in the worst of the depression.



Malcolm Chisholm

If the I.M.M. crews managed the ships in the way that the front office manages the finances, there would be an extraordinary increase in the number of marine disasters. But the International Mercantile Marine Co. cannot afford to give its seamen decent wages or decent quarters. It cannot even afford to give its investors a fair return on their investment; indeed, people who have put money into I.M.M. have often lost much of their principal along with all of its interest. Aside from taking across the Atlantic freight and passengers which could easily be accommodated on ships of other lines, the I.M.M. has done little more than secure for its officials what Senator Hugo Black of Alabama termed "unearned, exorbitant salaries."

WE HAVE SAID that the I.M.M. is a big company. It is, as American merchant-marine companies go. Yet compared to what it was only ten years ago, it is but a fraction of its former size. In 1926 it owned the American, Red Star, White Star, Atlantic Transport, Panama Pacific, and Leyland Lines. Under its various flags sailed 100 ships. It owned outright more than 1,000,000 tons of shipping. Most of its ships were what is called foreign-flag ships. The White Star fleet, for example, sailed under the British flag, was manned by British crews, was American only because its stock was owned by I.M.M. Today the ships of the White Star, Red Star, Atlantic Transport, and Leyland lines have been sold or scrapped. All the foreign-flag vessels are gone, and but for the purchase of several new American lines the I.M.M. would be almost out of existence.

In 1931, I.M.M. merged with the Roosevelt lines and bought the United States Lines and the American Merchant Lines. Yet even with these replacements, the I.M.M. today owns outright only four ships and controls only twelve others, making a fleet of sixteen ships and 234,000 gross tons. Even this figure is misleading, for it includes the poor old *Leviathan* (49,000 tons), which is in a dock at Hoboken and will probably never put to sea again. In 1926, the I.M.M. carried its "steamships and other properties" at a valuation of $167,000,000. In 1936 this same item was carried at $20,000,000.

In ten years we have a shrinkage of eighty-six ships, 766,000 tons, and $147,000,000. Yet between 1928 and 1933 this company which was getting rid of three-quarters of its tonnage paid out $587,000 in legal expenses—chiefly to Washington lobbyists who looked after I.M.M. interests in the way of subsidies and mail contracts.

SINCE the I.M.M. has shifted its holdings from foreign to American ships, it has based much of its plea for government aid upon the argument that it is the great up-builder of the American merchant marine. Here the I.M.M. is simply making a virtue of necessity. It started out in 1902 with a fleet largely composed of foreign ships for the simple reason that at that time there were only two American companies in the trans-Atlantic service, and if you put them both together you would still need a magnifying glass to see them. But the I.M.M. did not get out of its foreign-flag holdings because of any sudden desire to build up an American merchant marine. It sold its foreign ships because they were losing so much money that the I.M.M. could not afford to keep them.

The sale of the White Star line was the biggest deal in the process of getting rid of foreign-flag ships, and it is worth going into in some detail because of several peculiar circumstances connected with it. Mr. Franklin sold the White Star line in 1927 to Lord Kylsant's Royal Mail Packet Co. for $37,000,000. The sale was made on the instalment plan, with a down payment of about $10,000,000 and the final payment to be made in 1936. For arranging this deal, P.A.S. Franklin, then I.M.M.'s president, was given a bonus of $250,000. Now why should Mr. Franklin get a bonus for doing a job which certainly came well within his duties as president of the company? Apparently corporation presidents draw their salaries by virtue of their positions; if they actually do any work, a bonus is thrown in. Besides, as things turned out, Mr. Franklin showed poor judgment in extending so much credit to Lord Kylsant. For when the depression hit England, the Royal Mail went into bankruptcy and Lord Kylsant was jailed for issuing a fraudulent prospectus. Then the British government, trying to revive British shipping, merged the White Star line with the Cunard line and dissolved the Royal Mail completely. This was unfortunate for the I.M.M., because the Royal Mail still owed about $11,000,000 on the White Star purchase. But there was no longer any Royal Mail to collect from. Mr. Franklin brought suit in British courts to get the balance of the payments, but his chances of recovering anything appear to be about one in a thousand. The British government thoroughly disapproved of the original White Star sale to I.M.M., and is not likely to stretch any points in Mr. Franklin's favo[r].

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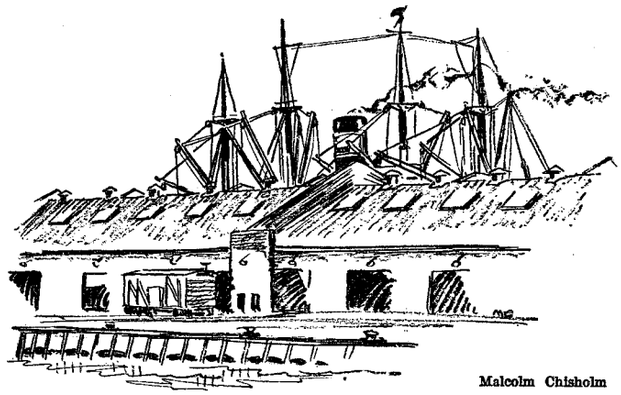
The immediate effect of the White Star sale was, however, good. I.M.M. used most of the money to pay some of its many debts, and its profit-and-loss statement was improved by the absence of the unprofitable White Star ships.

In 1928, I.M.M. made a little money and in 1929 reported the quite respectable profit of $2,400,000. Here, however, enters the unusual bookkeeping to which reference has already been made. Until 1929, I.M.M. had taken into consideration the operation of all its ships, whether they sailed under American or under foreign flags, and reported their combined earnings or losses in what is known as a "consolidated" statement. During 1929, however, I.M.M.'s American ships made money, whereas its foreign ships lost money.

At the close of 1929, I.M.M. issued an entirely new kind of annual report. This report showed the earnings of *American ships only*. Foreign ships were listed merely as an "investment," and their losses were not included in the I.M.M. statement. It is not uncommon for a company to buy an interest in another company and carry that interest as an investment, particularly if the purchasing company does not control or operate the company into which it has bought. But remember that these foreign ships were still wholly owned by I.M.M. Their management was just as much in I.M.M.'s hands as it had been for the past twenty-two years. The ships listed as an "investment" were precisely the ships which in former years had been included in figuring I.M.M.'s profit or loss. All that the 1929 report said about the foreign ships was that their showing had been "unsatisfactory." Therefore the $2,400,000 of reported profit was extremely misleading, because it included only that portion of the I.M.M. fleet which, for the time being, was making money. It is no doubt true that by this time the I.M.M. had decided to "buy American," but to class its foreign ships as investments in 1929 was, to say the least, a little premature. By now the I.M.M. has got rid of all its foreign ships, and the current deficits are probably a true indication of its condition. But in 1933, for example, the foreign ships held by I.M.M. lost about $7,700,000. For that year, I.M.M. reported a loss (on American ships only) of $1,400,000. By the system of bookkeeping which prevailed until 1929, the report would have shown a loss not of $1,400,000 but of $9,100,000.

Even by reporting only on its American ships, I.M.M. did not long remain out of the money-losing class. By 1931 it was again back in its familiar red ink and has stayed there ever since, with 1931-5 losses totalling $7,600,000. The report for 1936 probably will not be issued until well into 1937, and as the company does not give out any quarterly statements, it is impossible to say what may be the results of the present year. Mr. Franklin, however, remarked last month that the strike was costing I.M.M. a "fortune," so it seems fair to predict another big loss, for which the strikers will no doubt be blamed.



Malcolm Chisholm

MOST important additions to the I.M.M. family have been the Roosevelt Line and the United States Lines. I.M.M. merged with the Roosevelt line in February 1931. The Roosevelt line did not have much to offer in the way of steamships—it operated a line of small ships engaged chiefly in importing jute from India. What I.M.M. really got out of the Roosevelt merger was the Roosevelt management. Head of the line was John Franklin, son of P.A.S. Franklin. Kermit Roosevelt, son of the late Theodore Roosevelt, was vice-president. Director and financial backer was Vincent Astor, good friend of Franklin D. Roosevelt. In John Franklin, I.M.M. got a president to succeed P.A.S. Franklin. In Kermit Roosevelt it got a fine advertisement of its 100-percent Americanism, although as a matter of fact when Kermit Roosevelt enlisted in the World War in July 1917 he joined the British army and fought with the British troops in Mesopotamia. (In 1918, however, he transferred to the American army and saw service on the Western Front.) In Vincent Astor, I.M.M. got a friend at court, an important matter to a company so dependent upon government aid. The fact that the Roosevelt group, although technically absorbed by the I.M.M., had practically taken over the I.M.M. management, was seen in 1932 when J. P. Morgan (the present) resigned from the I.M.M. directorate. This was the first time since its formation that I.M.M. had to get along without a Morgan as a director. The absence, however, has apparently made no difference one way or the other—in or out of the House of Morgan, the I.M.M. still puts out more than it takes in.

IN OCTOBER 1931 the I.M.M. bought the controlling interest in the United States Lines, which the U.S. government had been trying to get rid of for several years. I.M.M. got the *Leviathan,* which proved to be a huge liability, losing $500,000 in its first year and being laid up for most of the time since. It also got the *President Harding* and the *President Roosevelt* and it soon added the *Washington* and the *Manhattan,* which were being built at the time of the purchase. These last two ships—new cabin ships of 24,000 tons each—have been as well patronized as could be expected under depression conditions. The U.S. lines lost $880,000 in 1934, made a piddling $36,000 profit in 1935, and do not seem to have added much stiffening to I.M.M.'s wobbly legs.

IN JULY 1936 Congress passed a ship-subsidy law which does not leave the U.S. merchant marine much cause for complaint about lack of government assistance. It granted companies whose ships went to foreign ports an operating subsidy large enough to make up the difference between the cost of running American ships and the cost of running foreign ships. It also granted construction subsidies. The U.S. government will put up 50 percent of the cost of building new ships and will lend money, at 3½ percent, for half the remaining cost. If a company is so poor that it cannot build even under these conditions, the government will build ships at its own expense. All profits over 10 percent on government-built (and owned) ships will go to the government, and on subsidized ships all profits over 10 percent will be divided equally between the ship company and the government. Considering I.M.M.'s usual earning power, the chances of its making more than 10 percent on any ship seem very small. Indeed, the excess-profit provision of the subsidy bill recalls the story of the bartender who threw the day's receipts at a ladder and gave the boss everything that stuck to the rungs. Besides, subsidies in one form or another are no new thing to shipping companies, and there is no guarantee that I.M.M.'s future will be any happier than its past. Foreign countries are also subsidizing their merchant marines, and ships like the *Normandie* and the *Queen Mary* dwarf anything that I.M.M. is likely to build for many years to come. Incidentally, Mr. Franklin, in spite of his devotion to the American merchant marine, went to Europe last fall on the *Queen Mary*. The fact that governments the world over are supporting merchant marines is a clear illustration of how completely private enterprise has made a failure of ocean transport and now owes its existence to government help based largely on the war-time value of merchant vessels.

IN 1935 a Senate committee investigating ship subsidies recommended government ownership in the most emphatic language. Senator Black of Alabama, chairman of the committee, said that private ownership with government aid had resulted in "a saturnalia of waste, inefficiency, unearned exorbitant salaries and bonuses, corrupting expense accounts, and the manipulation of stocks." But of course nothing was done about the committee's report. Private owners clamor against government ownership as loudly as they scream for government assistance; they are perfectly well

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able to carry on, thank you, provided of course that the government will make up their losses and keep the sheriff from taking away their boats.

TOWARD the present seamen's strike, I.M.M. officials have adopted a plaintive as well as an indignant tone. P.A.S. Franklin poses as the victim of internal warfare in the seamen's union, says that the I.M.M. has been "caught in the middle" between warring factions. He admits that he is not getting "satisfactory" crews from "discredited" union leaders, but complains that he cannot make a legal agreement with outlaw strikers who do not represent the official union heads. Considering the I.M.M. attitude toward the "Curran mutiny" last spring, Mr. Franklin's suggestion that he would be glad to treat with the rank-and-file strikers seems distinctly inconsistent. But possibly Mr. Franklin got his idea from the steel operators, who also like to create the impression that all would be well in the steel industry if it were not for a private battle between Mr. Lewis and Mr. Green.

Meanwhile, it is well to remember that the I.M.M. can lose money just as readily without strikes as with them. The shipping industry, like the coal and the textile industries, has been for a long time one of the cripples of capitalism. And it is the weak, backward, money-losing corporation which must cut to starvation levels every expenditure except what is spent on executive salaries. It is this type of corporation which is least able to keep up the pretense of being the workers' friend; which must not only regard labor solely as a commodity but must resent the fact that this particular commodity needs food for its stomach, clothes for its body, and a roof for its head. The I.M.M. has not fulfilled even the limited requirements of its own narrow objectives. It has destroyed, not created wealth—a hundred junkyards could have been filled with the wreckage of its once magnificent fleet. It has been no "rugged individualist"—when mean, nasty competitors have slapped it, it has run home to Mamma Washington and wheedled more money out of which to create new deficits. By any realistic system of figuring, it has lost money in every one of the last fifteen years—and fifteen consecutive years of deficits must come close to a world's record for uninterrupted loss.

Yet P.A.S. Franklin, who has been with the I.M.M. since its formation, and never in any less dignified position than vice-president, has, like other Bourbons, "learned nothing and remembered nothing." Not long ago he was arguing that the dignity of the American Merchant Marine called for an American ship of the *Normandie* or *Queen Mary* class. Which is tall talk from a company whose previous record gives no indication that it could make money on anything more ambitious than a rowboat concession in Central Park.

Stuyvesant Van Veen

"My friends, I promised to balance it."

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Smokey

She had a way with her that filled her granny's heart—and miner Pete's too

By Beth McHenry

IT was old Fanny who was doing all the worrying about Smokey's baby. Smokey would lie on the battered cot in the corner of Fanny's one-room shack, dreaming pictures on the dark boards of the ceiling, and chuckle and smile. When she wasn't scared about what was coming, she enjoyed the importance of being pregnant. Smokey had always lived queer little adventures in her head, and you could tell when she was having one by her chuckle. It would come suddenly, when Fanny was busy ironing or washing. Fanny would look over at the young girl and say hush your foolishness, you is a crazy young one. But Smokey never paid her grandmother any mind. The old lady lived for the young one and both of them knew it.

Smokey had a mother living right down the street there in Birmingham. Sometimes when she and Fanny would quarrel, Smokey would go down there and spend the night. Fanny would sit on the rickety porch stoop and spit snuff into the alley and mutter there's gratitude for you and that's what you all get for paying any mind to any of them. But when the girl did come back, Fanny would cook up a mess of greens because Smokey liked them.

Smokey had been with her grandmother from the beginning. Fanny would say, just look at her, the long, funny thing. I don't know why I always got to be worrying about her so much. When she was little she was sick, and now that she ain't sick no more she's a hell raiser.

It was Smokey's good looks that kept the old lady worried. Fanny never let the young girl carry washing when there was any to be delivered. Fanny had rich white customers with idle no-account sons. She remembered the ways of rich white men's sons from back on the old plantation. Fanny had a way of twisting her mouth when she mentioned something she didn't like. She twisted it that way when she spoke of the old plantation and the fields and the landlords' sons.

SMOKEY would lead the whole alleyful of kids in games and songs and sometimes she led them down the street to the white people's church to watch the congregation go in and out. Smokey would come home mimicking the way the preacher looked when he told them to be off. But then she would be bothered about whether the white God was the same as the black God and if heaven was jim-crow. Lots of things about white people made her mad. Sometimes Fanny would let her go to the Negro movie house down on Fourth Avenue and Smokey would come back angry because the Joan Crawfords and Greta Garbos were always white and never black.

Smokey was long and lean and awkward growing up, and then suddenly she was graceful. She got to worrying about her looks when she was fifteen. She would come home from her mother's with her hair straightened from a wax preparation and with lipstick on her mouth. Then Fanny would send her to bed without supper. Smokey would curl up on her cot in the corner and sing mournfully all the evening. After awhile she would tell her grandmother it was hard enough living like they had to without even a little fun and she wasn't going to do anything bad. Fanny always fixed her something hot before the night was gone.

Fanny would shake her head and say that young one's got a way with her that's a-going to be hard on her old man when she gets one. Smokey would look angry and pout her mouth and say, I don't want no old man. What you all trying to do, get rid of me?

Smokey didn't go to school any more after she was fifteen. She helped her grandmother iron the clothes and wash them and sometimes she helped with the cooking. Not often, because Fanny said there never was anyone could cook so bad as Smokey, and George's stomach wasn't young any more. George was Smokey's grandaddy. He did odd jobs of carpentering when he could get them to do. Usually he sat on the stoop, watching the sky, puffing at his pipe. Fanny and he never did much talking to each other. Fanny said they just got plumb wore out on each other, living thirty-five years of misery together. She never scolded him, even when he tracked in mud across the boards she had just scrubbed.

Fanny had to let Smokey see her cry when the young girl said she was going to marry Pete from the mine. It wasn't that Fanny minded Pete so much. He was steady and strong and he wouldn't be hurting her any if he could help it. Fanny cried because Smokey would be going to live up at the mine and because she hated the one-room shack when Smokey wasn't in it.

H. M.

THEY had a preacher come to the shack, and a bunch of Smokey's pals stood in the doorway, looking like it was a funeral instead of a wedding. In the middle of the preacher's talking, Smokey leaned forward and chuckled. Pete looked disturbed and so did the preacher, but Fanny chuckled, too. After Smokey and Pete had gone, Fanny shooed the guests out of the house. George said he guessed he'd be going uptown for a little while. But later Fanny found him sitting on the front porch, smoking his pipe. She sat down beside him and once he reached over and patted her hand.

When she first found out what was wrong with her, Smokey was angry about the baby. She was so sick that Pete was glad to leave her with Fanny. He came every evening and sat watching her. After she had been pregnant awhile she seemed to take up her old dreaming again. It was hard to get her to move. She kept wanting to lie still.

Fanny said from the looks of their faces you'd think it was Pete who was going to have the baby, not Smokey. Smokey didn't seem to worry much about whether there was going to be pain or what it would wear when it got into the world or how she'd care for it. Fanny worried. She went to the hospital and arranged to have Smokey taken in when her time was due. Smokey did say she thought it would be better to stay right in Fanny's house instead of going to that butcher shop. The nurses and doctors didn't pay much attention to the Negro people. Smokey said she didn't like to have white doctors touch her. She said, they always act like they is experimencing on me.

When Smokey got her pains, Fanny walked her the eight blocks to the hospital. They made Fanny wait outside. Even after the baby was born, they wouldn't let her in the ward to see Smokey. The white woman sitting by the switchboard snapped at Fanny to come back when they had visiting hours and then she said hold on for a moment. After Fanny had waited for a little while a doctor came down and told Fanny that Smokey was dead but they could take the baby home in a few days.

Fanny sat with Pete and George on the front step that night. She didn't cry at all, though Pete did. He cried in great full sobs.

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Academic Freedom at Yale

The case of Professor Jerome Davis sheds new light on certain financial interests in the Yale Corporation

By Arnold Shukotoff

ACADEMIC reaction prefers to corrupt rather than to suppress. When Prof. Jerome Davis's book *Capitalism and Its Culture* came from the presses in April 1935, the officers and fellows of the Yale Corporation threw up their hands in despair. They saw clearly that the twelve years in which they had tried to teach Professor Davis the relation between lifetime tenure and sober opinions had been wasted. Professor Davis refused to be corrupted. There was only one solution—dismissal. In no recent case of the abridgment of academic freedom are the issues so clear or the evidence so decisive.

The corporation dominating Yale ($95,000,000 endowment) interlocks with the houses of Morgan and Rockefeller. Of the twenty-two members of the Yale Corporation, sixteen are bankers, industrialists, insurance-company executives, lawyers, or politicians. These include directors or officers of the National Chamber of Commerce, the National Association of Manufacturers, the Baltimore & Ohio R.R., the New York Life Insurance Co., the United States Guarantee Co., the Pennsylvania Water & Power Co., the Goodyear Tire Co., the Interboro Rapid Transit Co., the New York Trust Co., the New York Central R.R., and the Chase National Bank. An incomplete survey shows that six fellows of the Yale Corporation hold directorships or offices in five Kuhn, Loeb affiliates, fifteen Rockefeller affiliates, and eighteen Morgan affiliates.

Great care is exercised to continue Wall Street control. For three years in succession "vacancies have been filled by what amounts to appointment rather than election, since only one candidate was nominated, and in each case the new member was high in the roster of America's discredited financial fraternity with qualifications largely dependent on connections with great Wall Street institutions." (From a letter of protest against Professor Davis's dismissal sent by Alfred Bingham, John Chamberlain, William Rose Benét and other Yale alumni.)

Perhaps the most interesting fact about the Yale Corporation is that it does not include a single "pure" educator. Wilbur Cross, who has made a reputation as a literary scholar, is governor of Connecticut. Dr. Charles Seymour, the historian, is a director of the Second National Bank of New Haven. And President Angell himself is a director of the New York Life Insurance Co.

PRIOR to the appearance of *Capitalism and Its Culture,* Professor Davis had earned the ill-will of members of the Yale Corporation and alumni by numerous speeches and activities. President Angell had been irritated by his "unqualified acceptance" of the research of Mr. Fay and Mr. Barnes into the origin of the World War. Members of the Yale Corporation were antagonized by Professor Davis's inviting Ferdinand Pecora and Gifford Pinchot to lecture at Yale. Alumni objected to his work in behalf of Soviet recognition and to his editing the Vanguard Press series of books on Soviet Russia. Treasurer George Parmly Day had been angered by his characterization of the Insull interests as "higher racketeers."

It was on the score of his labor activities, however, that Professor Davis had irked the Yale Corporation most. Professor Davis had been at the Divinity School for only two years when the Dean received a letter of complaint from a fellow of the Yale Corporation. "The New Haven men," the trustee wrote, "are particularly exercised by Professor Davis's efforts to unionize the non-union factories and employees in New Haven." Unwilling that the Divinity School should "become the theater of a debate on the evils of unionism and the advantages of the open shop," the trustee had for some time "resisted the appeal of friends to do something to counteract the activities in the labor world of Professor Davis." But as a believer in free speech, he did not see "how we can resist the pressure for an exposition of . . . the open shop cause . . . if the teachers of Yale University are to use their positions for the conversion of labor to the union cause." The letter was signed by Howell Cheney, fellow of the Yale Corporation, director of the National Association of Manufacturers, and owner of the Cheney Silk Co. of Connecticut. When Professor Davis's promotion to an associate professorship came up the following year, it was delayed for two months until the Yale Corporation had had time to investigate whether or not Professor Davis had been organizing workers.

Treasurer George Parmly Day had also resented Professor Davis's labor sympathies. In 1929 he had protested Professor Davis's sending a letter to the President of Union Theological Seminary regarding the wages of janitors. The same year Treasurer Day had opposed an inquiry which Professor Davis was conducting into wages paid in the dining halls of large American universities. In 1932 Dean Weigle warned Professor Davis that, since his promotion was coming up the following year, he had better not go to the A.F. of L. Convention as a delegate of local unions.

The sharpest clash with the Yale Corporation came over *Capitalism and Its Culture.* For the spring semester 1933-4, Professor Davis was granted a leave of absence to write a book. Before departing, the Professor indicated that he welcomed the leave in order to complete a study of capitalism. Dean Weigle advised him that it would be better for him if he wrote in the field of crime rather than in the controversial area of capitalism. During his leave Professor Davis did conduct a study in the field of crime. *The Jail Population of Connecticut* was published in December 1934. But Professor Davis also worked on his book on capitalism and submitted the completed manuscript to his publishers late in 1934.

The book was about to go to press when attorneys for Farrar & Rinehart, who were also attorneys for the Rockefellers, the Chase National Bank, and other interests, warned the publishers that the book might bring libel suits. Farrar & Rinehart were also advised to consider "the practical business risk involved in publishing the book entirely apart from the question of legal liability." As a result the book was held up in proof for two months. It finally made its appearance in April 1935.

The degree to which the interests represented on the Yale Corporation were angered by Professor Davis's authorship of *Capitalism and Its Culture* is indicated by something that happened to the book at the reviewing end. We refer to the treatment accorded the book by *The Saturday Review of Literature.* The editor of the *Saturday Review,* be it noted, was Henry Seidel Canby, member of the Yale University faculty, and the publisher of the *Saturday Review* is Thomas W. Lamont, partner of J. P. Morgan.

In April 1935 Mr. Canby assigned the book for review to Prof. Harold J. Laski of the London School of Economics. Seven months later, when Professor Davis had returned from a trip around the world, he found that no review had been printed by Mr. Canby. Surprised, he inquired the cause for the delay. Mr. Canby replied that no review had been published because no review had been received. The professor's surprise knew no bounds. He had run into Professor Laski in London: Professor Laski had commented favorably on the book and had indicated that he had sent a long, laudatory review to Mr. Canby. Professor Davis prevailed upon Mr. Canby to write Mr. Laski regarding the "lost" review. The latter answered that he had sent in his

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review; unfortunately, he could forward no copy because he had written it in longhand on the steamer from America. Mr. Canby's comment on this reply was that if Mr. Laski had sent a review, it would have been received by him. He suggested to Professor Davis that it was "not improbable that Mr. Laski's own memory failed him and that he thought he had sent in a review when actually he had not written one."

Professor Davis then secured Mr. Canby's promise that he would run a short review. Somewhat loath to rely on the treatment accorded mails at the *Saturday Review* office, Professor Davis communicated directly with Professor Laski regarding a short review. Laski promptly sent a short review and Professor Davis forwarded it to the *Saturday Review* office. The short review—it was seventy-six words—read as follows:

> Professor Davis' book is as admirable a survey as we know of the impact of capitalism on our civilization. He collects massively a great body of material. He sets it out with impressive clarity and it poses the issues confronting our generation so that no man may mistake their meaning.
>
> Anyone who wishes to understand the problem of our generation can hardly do better than start his adventure in understanding by reading Professor Davis' book.

More than a month passed and no review appeared. Then on March 14, 1936, eleven months after publication of the book, the following version of Mr. Laski's seventy-six-word review appeared in the columns of the *Saturday Review:*

> Professor Davis' book is a survey of the impact of capitalism on our civilization. He collects a great body of material and poses the issues confronting our generation so that no man may mistake their meaning.

Mr. Canby later advised Professor Davis that while he was at liberty to quote Professor Laski's seventy-six-word review of the book, only the thirty-six-word version could be quoted as coming from the *Saturday Review.*

When the Yale Corporation met on February 8, 1936, the fellows and officers might have looked at each other and admitted that they had done their best quietly to curb Professor Davis's activities and to sober his opinions. They might have pointed to incidents such as the following:

1. Appeals to Good Sense. In 1927 Professor Davis spoke at Madison Square Garden for Soviet recognition. The Brooklyn *Eagle* devoted a page to the event and ran a banner headline: "Red Propaganda and Plots Given Full Swing in the United States. Six Thousand Bolsheviki in Madison Square Garden *Wildly* Cheer Jerome Davis, Yale Professor, Who Sneers at America and Americans.—Books Exploiting Soviet Butchers and Treacherous Circulars Widely Distributed." President Angell thereupon wrote to Professor Davis suggesting that he was "not promoting the best interests of the cause you have at heart, to say nothing of the reflex effects upon Yale."

2. Surveillance of Outside Speeches. In 1931, as a result of protests made by Samuel Insull, Jr. (Yale '21), and others against Professor Davis's characterization of the Insull interests, Dean Weigle and Treasurer Day asked Professor Davis thereafter to prepare written copies of his addresses and to hold them ready for submission to university authorities and enraged alumni.

3. Threats of Reprisals. In January 1936 Professor Davis invited Senator Nye to be the annual speaker for the Henry Wright Cottage. The administration wanted the meeting canceled or postponed on the ground that Senator Nye had made an "indecent attack on President Wilson." Dean Weigle warned Professor Davis on January 18 that unless such action was taken, he might be discharged. Not to be intimidated, Professor Davis insisted that if the university authorities did not want Senator Nye to speak, they could write to him and cancel or postpone the engagement. Subsequently the authorities did postpone Nye's talk.

4. Repeated Delays of His Promotion. "When the promotion of Professor Davis was being considered in 1933," Professor MacIntosh (of the Yale Divinity School) has written, "Dean Weigle stated that the Yale Corporation was opposed to his promotion to the full professorship. . . . This vitally affected the action which was taken at the time." Similar opposition affected faculty recommendations in 1930 and 1936.

All these devices had been tried by the corporation. But to no avail. *Capitalism and Its Culture,* capped by the Nye incident, indicated that Professor Davis was hopelessly honest and courageous. Although the Divinity faculty had been effectively intimidated against recommending promotion, it recommended another three-year appointment. The corporation rode over this recommendation. It voted to terminate Professor Davis's contract as of June 30, 1937. On its minutes it entered as explanation of its action: failure of the Divinity faculty to recommend promotion.

Since the corporation's rejection of the faculty's recommendation, the faculty has twice petitioned for removal of the terminus date. The day after President Angell made Professor Davis's impending dismissal public knowledge (October 20, 1936), three colleagues came publicly to Professor Davis's defense. Professors Luccock, Niebuhr, and MacIntosh issued statements praising Davis's teaching and scholarship. Professor MacIntosh, head of Professor Davis's department, also announced he had evidence which "indicates conclusively that economic views expressed by Professor

UNNATURAL HISTORY—XII

ABOVE are four more Chimpanzi (*Socialismus invertus*) who are all loyal to the head of their jungle (*Hitlerus horribilis*). They are amazingly clever and versatile, but as pets cannot be trusted. In the foreground is the celebrated simian, Schacht. As a juggler he has no equal and can add, substract, and pad as well as a human being. To the left is the Junkermonk, Vonpapen. He is also quick-witted, but careless and treacherous. He is now on exhibition in Vienna. Above him is Bashful Rudolf, also called Hess. He is more quiet and retiring than the others, and therefore does most of the dirty work. To the right is Ersatz Ribbentrop, who is now performing in London parks and will probably be one of the chief attractions at the monkey house in connection with the coronation.—JOHN MACKEY.

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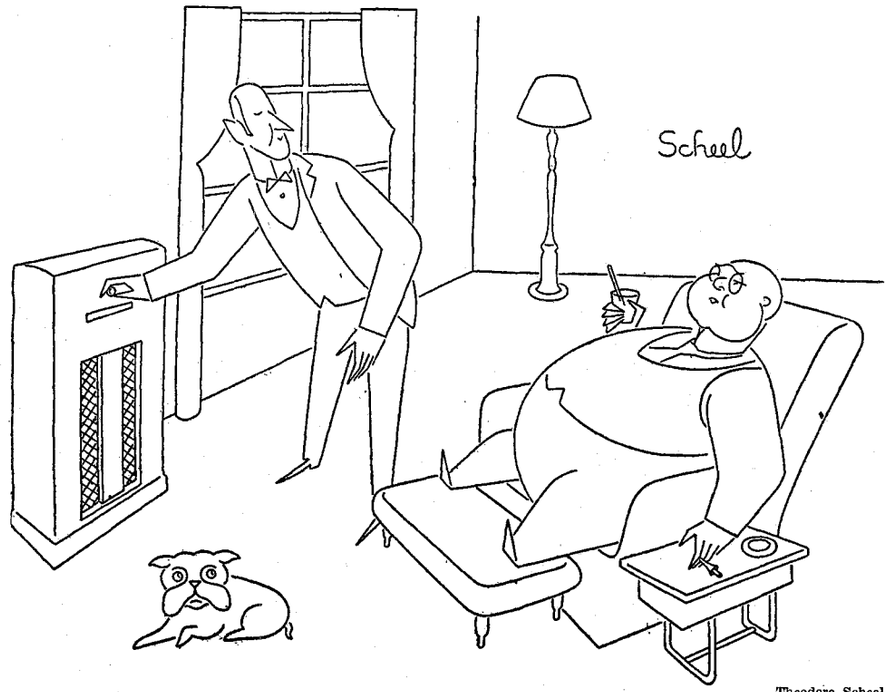
avis from time to time, and particularly in s recent book *Capitalism and Its Culture*, ken together with the antagonistic reactions a considerable number of Yale alumni to e same, did undeniably figure among the underlying causes of his being dropped. . . ." The same day the Divinity School Student Council denounced the dismissal and called for reinstatement. That evening the Yale and New Haven Teachers' Union did likewise. Since then protests have poured in from more than twenty-five locals of the American Federation of Teachers. Protests have also been made by numerous trade unions, including the International Union of Oil Field, Gas Well & Refinery Workers; by central labor bodies; and by the Tampa Convention of the A.F. of L.

In the face of mounting protest, the Yale administration has maintained complete silence. It has refused to make an answer to the charges made by Prof. Charles A. Beard and his associates, and has refused to see the College Committee on Academic Freedom, which has just completed a three-months' investigation for the A.F. of T. Unofficially it has urged students and faculty to suspend judgment until the American Association of University Professors makes its investigation. Furthermore, noxious little rumors about Professor Davis have swept the Yale campus week after week. One week it was rumored that Professor Davis had plagiarized materials for *Capitalism and Its Culture* from student themes. The next week rumors were spread that Professor Davis had made tidy sums of money buying up cars from necessitous people. The New Haven press has sedulously avoided reference to the case. When over two hundred students held a protest meeting on Thursday, December 10, New Haven papers refused to print stories of the event.

Within the past fortnight the A.A.U.P. has begun an investigation of the case. The Yale administration's greatest longing at present is for a favorable A.A.U.P. report. Unfortunately the administration cannot defend its budgetary excuse for dropping Professor Davis. Professor Davis's work has been done on an *endowed* chair. Neither can it effectively impugn Professor Davis's scholarship or teaching. Professor Davis has a good standing among American sociologists and is highly regarded by present and former students. The administration therefore hopes to avoid A.A.U.P. censure by pinning responsibility for Dr. Davis's ouster on the Divinity School Board of Permanent Officers (full professors). This feat it will try to accomplish in a rather devious way. It will argue that the corporation's action followed automatically upon the Board's repeated refusals to recommend Professor Davis for a full professorship. By these refusals, it will argue, the permanent faculty showed it lacked confidence in Dr. Davis's work. To establish this claim, it will point to a document which was prepared by Dean Weigle and which eleven members of the Divinity faculty were prevailed upon to sign.

Drawn up on June 13, 1936, the document was delivered to Professor Davis on September 25, 1936, seven months after he had received notice his contract was to be terminated. The document purports to be an enumeration of the reasons why the faculty refused to recommend promotion to a full professorship in 1927, 1930, 1933, and 1936. Strangely enough, two of the document's signers were not on the Board when these actions were taken. Other signers have admitted having no personal opinion on the judgments to which the document commits them. Another signer, Prof. Robert Seneca Smith, has stated that in all the time he has served on the Board (1925 on), there was no extended discussion of Professor Davis's teaching, and in the few instances when it was mentioned it was commented on favorably. In the twelve years Professor Davis has been at the Divinity School, he has received no written criticism of teaching or scholarship from the dean or Board. Yet the document comments on scholarship and teaching as if these were the center of Board discussions, and not a single reference is made to the corporation's opposition to advancement which played such a determining role in the permanent faculty's recommendations.

The issues in the Davis case are not to be confused. The document, like most other factors, reveals the fine hand of the corporation. Professor Davis is being dismissed because his speeches, his research, and his activities have been favorable to labor and unfavorable to the vested interests. He is being dismissed after more than twelve years of teaching at the Yale Divinity School without even so much as a formal hearing. Tenure is one issue. The Davis case raises the right of college teachers to a trial before a jury of their peers where an administration questions teaching and scholarship after competence has been indicated in an initial probationary period. Academic freedom is another issue. The Davis case raises the right of teachers to conduct research and to publish accurate materials favorable to labor. The financial interests on the Yale Corporation oppose such rights. But the educational values of the Divinity School are not to be realized without the establishment of these rights. Winning the reinstatement of Professor Davis would greatly advance the struggle for academic freedom and tenure at Yale.



Theodore Scheel

"Something sympathetic, James. I just fired 500 men."

★

German Peasant

We stand on fields unfertile;
derelict and battered
the barns and houses near;
hope of life is shattered,
none of it here.

We stand on dead fields, seeing
unrolled to the horizon
a painted scroll of grain;
such gold-leaf scrawls bedizen
Soviet Ukraine.

We lust for life. The masters
flatter and reassure:
Poor land can't carry wheat—
Blood's the best manure—
Fight, and you shall eat!

The Ukraine's yours, they tell us—
seeing our hearts are shaken
at thought of breeding land—
the way their words are taken
they do not understand.

VALENTINE ACKLAND.

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READERS' FORUM

Valentine Ackland on Edward VIII's abdication—Experimentalism and revolution—Last greetings

● The king has abdicated, as you know, and England and the dominions, and India and the Irish Free State are all lost in the same dream, and all dreaming that they approve Mr. Baldwin. Yes. But there are voices. Not only a single voice, but *voices,* which shout out in the streets of London and the manufacturing and the rural towns, "God Save *Our* King!" And of these, not the smallest voice is the voice of South Wales.

And so on. So one can go on. It is not actually immediately important—although the Continental papers have courteously consented to keep up the pretense that it is. It isn't. But when there is something important to be maneuvered, this will be useful. And, I fear, useful to the fascists.

You had better remember this, so that if I survive whatever happens then, I can exult over perspicacity, which is always pleasant to do.

Generations of my family were royalists. It happened that one of my ancestors came as far as the near-by village, which is now our local telephone exchange, to rescue or attempt to rescue King Charles II, of happy memory. I feel that this particular ancestor is raising his eyebrows now. And mine also tend to rise, until I stop them. When I hear of Germany giving us a condescending pat on the back and the dominions praising our "coolness" in not protesting against a most unpopular and, many think, a most violent action on the part of the government—then my eyebrows try to rise. But it is silly of them. There is nothing to make a fuss about. Our single Communist member of Parliament is right in stating that this fuss has been most useful to, and well used by, Mr. Baldwin—who has succeeded in shifting a king who bade fair to be democratic.

Baldwin's speech in the Commons is a fine example of his worst, most telling style. It moved the House profoundly. He was sober, honest, open-hearted, sentimental, unhappy, tired. All the things we love. God damn him.

The actual facts are that Edward flouted the cabinet. He talked to Canadian soldiers (individually, not in safe groups). He made promises in Wales that Baldwin is pledged never to see performed. (Short of putting Paid to Capitalism, no one can now save South Wales.) Edward, apparently, meant that his promises should be honored. This king (now referred to by the British Broadcasting Corporation as "His Former Majesty King Edward the Eighth") meant to continue along the road he had gone as Prince of Wales. Other people meant that he should not. Fortunately for them, he loved a woman they did not love. Very good. Out he goes. "I mean to marry Mrs. Simpson, and I am willing to go. . . ."

During this brief reign various things, of varying degrees of importance, have happened. Edward broke ranks at Vimy Ridge, and actually spoke to the mutilated veterans, and, perhaps worse still, to their attendant nurses. Later, some exalted spirits among the Canadians literally broke into the Palace in London—and for some reason were not arrested as breakers of the peace, but were fed instead. Later still, the King of England visited South Wales—and nothing happened in the way of a demonstration by the king-killing Communists. Instead, His Majesty talked to the people, and entertained a most suspect character to dinner in his train dining-car: Malcolm Stuart, of Distressed Areas fame—whose recommendations definitely did not come up to the standard demanded by the cabinet who appointed him.

So the king must go. And he went. And all should now be well. Until—until. . . . But whatever happens later on, Mr. Baldwin has managed the affair with discretion and aplomb. And whatever happens later on, the Reds won't be able to use it. Or will they?

VALENTINE ACKLAND.

Workers' School Postponement

● In view of the intervening holidays, the opening of the winter term at the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street, N. Y., has been set back one week and classes will start on the week of January 11. This postponement will allow one additional week for registration for Winter Term classes.

Among the courses of special interest to NEW MASSES readers, we might mention the courses in Marxism-Leninism, Marxian Survey of Psychology, Contemporary Literature, Literary Criticism, Science and Dialectics, Research Methods, Modern Economic Theories, Trade Unionism, Labor History, etc.

A. MARKOFF, *Director.*

Replying to Mr. Agee

● In his review [Dec. 15] of Gertrude Stein and *transition,* Mr. James Agee is apparently unable to point to any value in these works that would make it necessary for Left critics to take them seriously.

Certainly the proletarian movement has made use of much that was in the early part of the century regarded as experimental. But it is the strength of proletarian art that it can take to itself only that which it can use. Under the mandate of its approach to life and the necessity to communicate, it cannot lose itself in blind alleys. It has learned from experimental art when that experimentation actually devised effective modes of expression or rediscovered what was fine and effective in the art of remoter times. But when experimentation lapsed into cultism the health was gone out of it.

Just what has Gertrude Stein to offer? Is not her whole atempt to divorce language from meaning a cul-de-sac? And just how will a living art, based upon realities so pressing that even former Dadaists have been forced to face them, gain from the mumbo-jumbo of the latter day transitionists?

Revolution is not made in the hazy caverns of the subconscious nor by any mystic upsurge of the human spirit. This is not to deny that the dream life of man is real; but to contemplate dream states for their own sake and isolated from the rest of reality is a sickness which we cannot afford.

What the proletarian artists can learn from the methods of experimentalists, let him use by all means. But that he is brother to the Surrealist in his philosophy is ridiculous. Surely when Mr. Agee insists that both Left artists and Surrealists are revolutionaries and that "there are no valid reasons why they should be kept apart" he is on dangerous ground.

All who rebel are by no means revolutionary in our sense of the word. If the proletarian movement took to its bosom all who call themselves revolutionary, there would be no disciplined movement either in politics or the arts—only confusion and betrayal.

MYRA MARINI.

Greetings on Our Twenty-Fifth Anniversary

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN

GREETINGS for this twenty-fifth anniversary of your predecessors and yourself—valiant fighters in the cause of liberty. Old age looks backward, youth looks forward; happy those like you who can contemplate work well done and yet be full of fruitful plans for the future.

You are serious about reality, burning with indignation about poverty, exploitation, injustice, the cruelty of war and fascism, the obsolescence of capitalism. You are keenly aware of the struggles of revolutionists to end all these and portray them with graphic enthusiasm. Your love of beauty is not an abtraction, but is exemplified in the rights of the child, the woman, the worker, the artist, to grow, to live fully, to express themselves fully. Your humor exposes affectations, hypocrisy, and inconsistencies. Nor does it spare ourselves, that our hearts may be lightened and we be saved from dullness and stodginess. Your ideals are high: peace, prosperity, freedom, and happiness for the human race.

To youth, you bring a sense of its hopeful destiny, that it is not a lost, but a found generation, capable of rebuilding America for socialism. With a rich, beautiful, self-sufficient country, abounding in vast resources and a marvelous technical system, why should youth be depressed and discouraged? "Come and take it!" says the NEW MASSES; build, O, Youth, a brave new world.

Long life and more power to you!

THE "LABOR DEFENDER"

FROM a mere youngster of only ten and a half years of life and growth in the service of the American labor movement and the cause of liberty and justice in this land of ours, warmest greetings to the NEW MASSES.

During your eventful career, you have always found time and space to aid the battles in defense of labor's prisoners and to add your lusty voice in protest and support.

Long life to you, NEW MASSES! Those who gave their liberty in freedom's cause surely join with us who are trying to win it back for them, in wishing you the brilliant and successful future which your splendid accomplishments in the past assure.—SASHA SMALL and LOUIS COLMAN, for the editorial board.

KENNETH PATCHEN

ACCEPT my sincere wish that there will be an early fulfillment of those things for which the *Masses,* the *Liberator,* and the NEW MASSES have so gallantly waged war. Congratulations!

THE "WESTERN WORKER"

IT IS only fitting and not surprising that the NEW MASSES has become widely accepted on the West Coast. It has recognized that on the West Coast important labor and progressive forces are uniting in opposition to entrenched reaction, and it has clearly interpreted this struggle to its readers nationally.

The staff of the *Western Worker* congratulates the NEW MASSES on the understanding it has displayed of this struggle on the West Coast as an important factor in the struggle nationally. The occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary is a milestone that will be noted here by thousands.—LAWRENCE ROSS, *Editor.*

NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE DEFENSE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

GREETINGS to the NEW MASSES on this anniversary of a long and vigorous struggle against reaction. May you continue in the forefront of the fight for liberty and justice for all.—DAVID KINKEAD, *Assistant Secretary.*

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NEW MASSES

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★

Technicians and Spain

OBSERVERS recently returned from Spain report that the military situation is favorable for the loyalists. Supplies are better than they were at the beginning of the civil war, the troops have achieved discipline under fire, and the food situation is good. Morale is high, confidence in victory all-pervading. This confidence is borne out by military experts. These say that if Germany and Italy let Spain alone, the loyalists will defeat the fascists without difficulty.

Such favorable reports, however, should not blind us to the serious dangers which Spanish democracy must overcome if it is to survive and move forward. As we go to press, dispatches from Berlin report that Germany will continue to send troops to Spain and may convoy German vessels with warships. This is Hitler's reply to the warning of Great Britain and France. He holds the threat of war over Europe in order to obtain territorial and commercial concessions in the colonies, and in the long run, if he is not effectively stopped now, he will go to war. Indeed, he is already at war against Spain. Nazi assistance to Franco has become Nazi direction of the fascist campaign. Whatever may be the results of present diplomatic maneuvers, Germany would gain immeasurably by a victory in Spain.

That much has become apparent even to some politicians of Downing Street, who realize that Nazi Germany is fighting to become the first power in Europe. The realization may strengthen those sections of the British ruling class who see that their own interests at the moment require concerted action with France against Berlin's ruthless drive toward war. Meantime, the British working class is becoming more and more conscious that upon it devolves the chief responsibility for changing the pro-Nazi policy of the dominant circles of the British ruling class.

While the British governing class is trying to make up its mind that it does not pay to cut off one's nose to spite one's face, democratic forces the world over must act immediately to aid Spain in the hour of her need.

The heroic exploits of the famous International Brigade symbolize the meaning of the struggle. What we have in Spain today is not merely a civil war in one country, but the military phase of the world-wide struggle between the fascist and anti-fascist forces.

If the fascists win, international fascism will have made a tremendous step forward throughout the world, France will be surrounded by the Nazis, and war will break out with that much advantage on the side of the fascists. If the loyalists win, democracy the world over will hold a crucial area, the forces operating against war will be strengthened, and if war breaks out anyway the anti-fascist countries will be that much better equipped to fight it.

Spain's battle is our battle. Nothing illustrates this better than the social advance now going on behind the lines. In Germany, officially at peace, the peasants are taxed and starved to support a corrupt economy and an increasing military budget. In Spain, actually at war, the peasants have been freed of the burden of rent. While the people's army is grappling with the fascist foe, the people's government is establishing libraries and schools.

This explains the enthusiasm of the Spanish people under the most arduous conditions of military conflict. They are fighting for bread, land, and liberty—and in this democratic peoples everywhere support them if only out of self-interest. The threat of fascism is against us as well as against Spain.

From various countries of the world, liberty-loving men have gone to Spain to aid in the struggle. General Kleber is there with Ludwig Renn and André Malraux and thousands of others. These aid their Spanish comrades in arms in holding Madrid with boundless heroism.

But to defeat the fascists, Spain needs technicians. War makes acute demands upon industry, and Spain has never had a large-scale industry which could meet the needs of the military emergency at short notice. Foreign technicians already in Spain are helping man factories and railways, aiding the struggle for democracy at its base, and releasing Spanish workers for the front.

It is for this purpose that there has been formed in this country the American Society for Technical Aid to Spanish Democracy with temporary headquarters at the offices of the New Masses. This organization, formed by outstanding writers and trade unionists and headed by Waldo Frank, is seeking support for its project of civilian technical aid to Spain. Our readers will, we hope, assist it in every way.

Nazi Fact and Fiction

THE Nazi press boasts that the Hitler regime has led Germany out of the economic decline of "Marxist rule" and has created a flourishing economy. This legend of German prosperity has been taken up by certain American newspapers partial to the extreme Reaction. Actually, Germany's alleged economic progress is based to a large extent on the transformation of the national economy into a war economy. Many of the "peaceful" improvements have military purposes. Such is the case with the vast number of roads now being built throughout the country. These are the transport routes of the next war. The proposed plants to obtain gasoline from coal are neither necessary nor advantageous from the viewpoint of peace economy. It costs far more to produce artificial gasoline than to buy it on the world market. But the Nazis want to make their air fleet independent of uncertain foreign supplies in the next war. Here, too, is the secret of Germany's campaign for substitute materials of all kinds. That part of German production which serves war purposes is increasing; that part which serves the needs of the people is decreasing. The mass of Germans are enduring incredible hardships today so that their masters may make war upon other peoples tomorrow. Fascism is the great modern curse both for the nation which it inhabits and for the countries it threatens to invade. The most elementary laws of self-preservation require us to combat it at every point.

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REVIEW AND COMMENT

The Theatre Guild plays—Property relations in China—Human nature, born and made

THE publishers inform us that the first printing of this volume* amounts to 70,000 copies. Since the average play commands a sale of only a few hundred copies, one may regard this as concrete evidence both of the prestige value of the Theatre Guild trademark and of the readiness of a wide public to have its dramatic reading prejudged and selected.

As one reads the brief but carefully worded introduction to this anthology, signed collectively by the board of directors of the Guild, one wonders whether the directors can really be unaware of the *social function* of the organization whose destinies they guide. Can these first-rate craftsmen and organizers really be blind to the scope and limitations of their own daily activity in the theatre? The introduction tells us that the Guild was founded on an idea: "If, in the years that have intervened, the Guild has achieved success, it is because the idea, revolutionary, has withstood the revolution it created and is still a driving force as potent as it was at the start." The *idea* is an "art theater." "It has not been in any sense of the word a propaganda theater. It has been willing to produce a communistic play as quickly as an imperialistic play, as long as it was a good play with a definite idea to project."

In a word, the Guild is as neutral as the New York *Times*. We are assured that the news-gathering apparatus of the *Times* does not coerce its correspondents. Similarly, the production-apparatus of the Guild guarantees the fullest freedom of expression: it simply selects the plays, advises on their revision, and molds every detail of the presentation.

These fourteen plays, selected from more than one hundred, reflect the policy which has guided the Guild since its inception. The *external* character of this policy has been the creation of a conservative "art theater" with an upper-middle-class clientele. The *internal* compulsion has been the desperate need of this audience for some æsthetic and moral escape from the increasing pressure of social change. The later plays of Shaw and O'Neill have offered such an escape in the form of an elaborate structure of pseudo-philosophy. There is some justification for Shaw's reported remark about *Saint Joan*: "Without my play, gentlemen, you have no book!"

The work of these two playwrights has served as the pivot around which the activity of the Guild has moved. *Saint Joan* and *Strange Interlude* are the key plays in this anthology. They contain the basic social viewpoint which finds varied expression in the aristocratic pessimism of *He Who Gets Slapped*, the smug cheerfulness of *Mr. Pim Passes By*, the heavy idealism of *Mary of Scotland*.

In the 1920's the Guild tended to be "European" (in the Mencken and Nathan manner); in the first half of this volume, only one of the seven plays is of native origin. But this one is the only one which has any contemporary meaning. In *The Adding Machine*, Rice pictures the "poor, spineless, brainless boob," caught in the steel trap of business regimentation. It is a confused and embittered play, but it points a direction in which the thought of the period was moving.

Rice has continued to grow in this direction. But the Guild has not done so. And Rice's later plays have not been produced by the Guild. However, the seven plays in the last half of the anthology, covering the past ten years, are all by American authors. This suggests the greater productivity of native playwrights along lines which conform to the Guild point of view.

The Guild has occasionally produced revolutionary or working-class plays. This has been part of its function as an æsthetic safety-valve for middle-class discontent. But it is also characteristic of Guild policy that none of these dramas (*Man and the Masses, Roar China! They Shall Not Die*) is considered suitable for inclusion in the present volume.

During twenty-five years of intensive social change, the Guild's position has remained remarkably static. But today the task of serving as a neutralizing agent becomes increasingly difficult. Native playwrights whose work is represented in this volume (Rice, Howard, O'Neill, Sherwood, Barry, Anderson, Behrman) face a problem which must also be faced by the directors of the Guild. In the final play reprinted, *Rain from Heaven*, Behrman introduces a new note of social awareness: "It's a matter of life and death," says Hugo Willens in this play; "I see now that goodness is not enough, that kindness is not enough, that liberalism is not enough. I'm sick of evasions. . . . We'll have to redefine our terms."

One hopes that the directors of the Guild are also "sick of evasions." The Guild will either continue to serve as an organ of propaganda for the philosophy of reaction, or it will become an "art theater" in the only real sense. This anthology offers only the slightest excuse for hoping that the latter course is possible. But it shows the need of an honest examination of the Guild's social function. The directors could profit by such an examination; it might lead them to agree with Hugo Willens that we must "redefine our terms."

JOHN HOWARD LAWSON.

W. Millus (American Artists Congress Exhibition)
"Coal Gatherers"

The Hope of China

LANDLORD AND PEASANT IN CHINA, *by Chen Han-Seng. International Publishers. $2.*

THIS study of agricultural economy in the province of Kwangtung in its acute analytic introduction and its impressive statistical documentation makes clear the appalling misery of the masses, the hopeless unbalance of the existing economy, the nakedly exploitative character of the provincial government, and the inevitability of a revolution without which not even alleviation is possible.

The Chinese masses, predominantly a peasantry, suffer simultaneously from feudalism, imperialist conquest, imperialist exploitation, from emerging capitalism, from underproduction at home and overproduction abroad. The landlords levy upon them in the form of rents; the militarists in the form of taxes (to speak only of the extortion carried on with due process of law); the usurers in the form of interest averaging above 20 percent; the merchants in the form of prices which they manipulate with a cunning and unscrupulousness unchecked by conscience or regulation. These four classes interlock more closely and intricately than the directorates in capitalist industry. A provincial general may be a large landowner, an official, and a trader; an official may be a trader, usurer, and landlord, all in one; and so on. Desperation results in peasant revolt (endemic in China), which is met with increased purchases of munitions, to pay for which more taxes are imposed, leading to the vicious circle, revolt, munitions, taxes, re-

*THE THEATRE GUILD ANTHOLOGY, with an Introduction by the Board of Directors of the Theatre Guild. Random House. $3.50.

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volt, munitions, taxes, and so on unendingly. This situation has played into the hands of the imperialist powers which have not hesitated to work through the worst elements in the Chinese political setup for their ends.

This picture drawn from the situation in Kwangtung province is generally true of China as a whole. The province is fertile, but overcultivated. The population of thirty-two million has twice the density of France. The influx of foreign goods has destroyed the home industries. Immigration restrictions in formerly open countries have bottled up the population. Imperialist pressure preventing the development of native industry permits the growing population no outlet, increasing the resort to the land which raises its price and leads to subdivision into smaller and smaller holdings. The consequent strain of overcultivation is depleting the productivity of the land. The smallness of the holdings raises production costs. In spite of perhaps the lowest labor costs in the world, the greater productivity of capitalist agriculture in other lands leads to the anomaly of food imports into China although it remains primarily a food-producing country. The pauperization of the masses is proceeding at a terrific rate, and the already pitifully low standard of living is being further reduced.

Professor Dragoni of Rome, reporting for the League of Nations on conditions in Kiangsi, recovered from the Chinese Soviets when the Red Armies made their extraordinary retreat to new positions in the West, declared that the restoration of Nanking "order" was a calamity. And this is the unanimous opinion of all except government reporters.

The conclusion is obvious. Only under a genuinely revolutionary control have the Chinese masses gained any relief. Only in the soviet districts of China, which have officially declared war upon Japan, is there a government organizing to resist the Japanese invasion. This revolutionary government sees as the key to the unhappy Chinese puzzle the colonial status of China and is ready to merge its separate existence into a combined and unified national movement to expel Japan and the other imperialist invasions. In that lies the hope of China. ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Ashes to Ashes

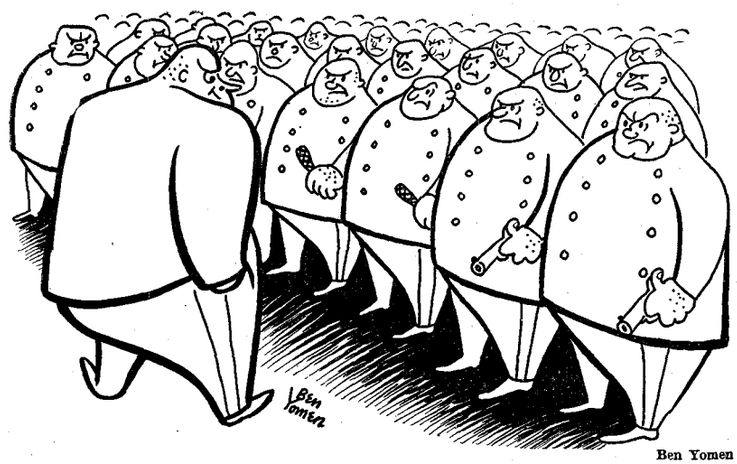
THE RETURN OF THE WEED, *by Paul Horgan. Harper & Bros.* $2.

EVEN heavy padding doesn't give this short-story collection much heft, but the seven reproductions of lithographs by Peter Hurd make it worth two dollars unless you had rather spend your money on an ant palace. The text is nothing to go hungry for, even though Paul Horgan, as the title suggests, does argue the futility of human breathing, much less eating, in five out of the six stories.

One gathers that the author himself has grown terribly, terribly fed up on it all, because each story starts off as if it were going to be something pretty good, as if it were going to have some form, or meaning, or emotiveness, or whatever it is that a good short story must have (I wish someone could say precisely), and then peters out in an arid little outline of something that might make a wonderful novel if anyone ever got round to writing it. Paul Horgan writes like a master for whole paragraphs at a time. Then he gets tired and lets down and the final effect is distinctly Morley Callaghanish.

The failure of a Franciscan among the Pueblos ("The Mission"); the defeat of two cattle kings ("The Brothers"); the plight of a ruined millionaire's relict ("The Mansion"); a college graduate driven to farming is deserted by his wife, takes to drink in his loneliness ("The Tank"); the degradation of a fine Spanish-American family ("The Hacienda")—there is little variation in theme with one exception. The final story, "The Star," is a modern American fairy tale, and as refreshing as if it had been written by Hans Christian Andersen.

GEORGE MILBURN.



Ben Yomen

"We don't play no favorites, see? Pinch every picket, whether he's a shipowner or a sailor."

The Basis of Human Nature

BIOLOGY AND HUMAN BEHAVIOR, *by Mark Graubard. Tomorrow Publishers.* $2.50.

SEVENTY-FIVE years ago Darwin and Huxley fought for the theory of evolution against the apologists of religion and idealist philosophy. When evolution was generally accepted, the level of the battle shifted. Natural selection was appropriated by the apologists of *laissez-faire* capitalism to justify exploitation of the proletariat and of colonial peoples. Bankers and industrialists considered themselves the "fittest", and capitalist imperialism and the division of society into classes were given a pseudo-biological basis. Thereupon the "science" of Eugenics was created, its founders, such as Galton, arguing that the breeding of the "inferior" peoples should be controlled. The only consistent classification ever advanced by these believers in the genetic superiority of certain social groups is that the particular eugenist's class and nationality represent the highest possible type of humanity.

Marxists have always understood both the class bias and the *unscientific* nature of these theories. Biologists, however, have been slow to take up the issue. In capitalist society those who control the means of production control scientific research. Investigations which might challenge the existing order are either discouraged by lack of funds or openly suppressed, as in Nazi Germany. Nevertheless, a substantial body of information has been accumulated, and it is this genuine "biological basis of human behavior" that is here so ably presented by Dr. Mark Graubard of Columbia University.

Graubard does not indulge in fanciful theories. He begins by describing the methods of scientific investigators and shows how facts are accumulated and correlated. Theories are built upon a base of known facts; they enable one to generalize about apparently unrelated phenomena.

The physical basis of behavior involves the properties of sense organs, nerve, and muscle, together with brain and spinal cord. How these are integrated in function is examined in terms of reflexes and tropistic behavior and that great science developed by Pavlov, conditioned reflexes. Underlying all these are the chemical reactions which enable the various functions to be carried out. Lucid examples are given to show the actual working of these mechanisms.

Conditioned behavior must not be thought of only in terms of such responses as those of Pavlov's dogs to the sound of a bell. Conditioning is the basis of memory and the foundation for likes and dislikes, religious and social taboos, whether the conditioning is conscious or unconscious. Because the exact neural pathways of a white southerner's hatred for the Negro are not known does not mean that the responses are any less conditioned. In such cases our historical knowledge, combined with our knowledge of man's capacity for social conditioning, enables us to subject such complex responses to the same type of analysis as Pavlov made on animals.

Just as we cannot understand present-day society without a dialectical historical approach, it is impossible to understand the physiological and psychological characteristics of man without knowing his history. The fact of evolution enables us to know "ma[illegible]s place

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in nature" and the study of heredity and embryology enables us to evaluate the development of man as an individual. Human behavior can be studied only in terms of man as a member of society, and in light of the realization that it is the result of the interaction of his anatomical structure with the social and physical environment. This dialectical relationship has formerly been so perverted or ignored by both students of heredity and sociology that there is confusion even among many who are politically Left in sympathies. And it is on this question that Graubard makes his most significant contribution. He criticizes the Freudians for their mysticism and their exaggeration of the influence of the sex factor and the behaviorists for their excessively mechanical approach and their indifference to the effect of the class nature of society on the individual.

Only a Marxist aware of the operation of dialectic forces could write so clearly on this difficult question. In its light any belief or hope that capitalism is a form of society in perfect accord with "human nature" becomes a demonstrated illusion. The important fact about human behavior is its changeability. The U.S.S.R. has almost completely made over "human nature" in twenty years. Not only the oppressed and downtrodden of the Russian proletariat and the Russian peasantry, but also the colonial peoples of extremely backward regions, have risen to a level which at one time would have been considered inconceivable.

Genetics and anthropology have never been able to show that a lower social position either of a class or "race" was due to innate inferiority, and now in over one-sixth of the earth's surface these doctrines have been shown for all time to be superstitious.

This brief notice barely skims the surface of Graubard's work. There have been few Marxist books on science of similar scope and importance in our generation.

EDWARD R. KENT.

The Soviet Way

NURSERY SCHOOL AND PARENT EDUCATION IN SOVIET RUSSIA, *by Vera Fediaevsky and Patty Smith Hill. E. P. Dutton & Co.* $2.50.

NOT content with merely passing laws which set forth the rights of women and children, Soviet Russia has built up a vast system of services to protect and educate the child from his earliest days and to give every possible assistance, medical, educational, and legal, to mothers. The institutions and methods employed and the tremendous advances made in the past few years are fully but simply described in this book by a former Columbia University professor of education and a Russian woman who has been working in nursery schools since before the Revolution.

That babies get the best in Russia is no longer news. But here is a revelation of the pioneer role being played by the Soviets in the science of child care and education, and of the continuous and amazingly rapid extension of their program.

Even railway stations have nurseries now, and trains traveling long distances include special coaches equipped for the comfort and health of mothers and infants. The benefits heretofore found only in cities are being brought to rural districts. These include crèches and kindergartens, consultation centers, milk kitchens, obstetrical hospitals, nursery playgrounds, and parent education work.

Consultation centers and crèches combine the training of parents with the actual care of children, so that the mother learns what she should do for her child while taking advantage of the services which the government performs for him. Research to determine the best scientific methods is carried on under the guidance of Institutes for Protection of Motherhood and Infancy, and new knowledge gained thereby is made available in all sections of the country.

The Russian technique of child training—how tiny babies are taught self-expression, coöperation, and proper living habits—is a fascinating part of the book. Equipment and toys are described and illustrated with more than a hundred photographs and diagrams. Authoritative but not academic, this study should be of interest to all mothers and teachers whatever their political beliefs.

Soviet crèches are attached to farms, factories, or other production units. Through a council of parents, teachers, and workers' representatives, close integration is maintained between the child program and industry. "This organic relation between industry, commerce, agriculture, to all forms of education, must be fully understood, as all forms of education grow directly out of the needs of the workers themselves."

In this purpose, the supplying of the workers' needs, lies the great significance of the Soviet program for mothers and infants. Such a thing is not found in any capitalist country, where only the feeble and offensive hand of charity interposes against the hunger, sickness, ignorance, and miserable home life of workers' children.

WILLIAM TURNER.

Brief Reviews

ROAD TO EXILE, *by Emilio Lussu. Translated from the Italian by Mrs. Graham Rawson. Covici, Friede.* $2.50.

Written in 1931, though appearing now in America for the first time, this is a vivid account of the personal experiences of a democrat at the hands of Italian Fascists. Lussu has condensed into some 200 extremely readable pages those eleven years from his demobilization (he was an officer in the Italian army) in 1918 to his escape in 1929 from the island of Lipari, where he had been imprisoned as a political opponent of Il Duce.

In those years he witnessed or actively engaged in many of those events which are famed in the history of Italy before and during Blackshirt rule: D'Annunzio and Fiume, the General Strike, the seizure of the factories, the "march on Rome," the murder of Matteotti, the Aventine parliamentary split. . . . As a picture of the fascist gangsterism that brought Mussolini to power and maintained him there, *Road to Exile* is of great value. And with effective, cutting humor, the apologists of this

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gangster government, the poets and politicians and classical scholars who deprecated, perhaps, the violence but lauded the "philosophy" of Fascism, are presented in all their moral ugliness.

The book suffers to some slight degree when Lussu attempts criticism or interpretation. However, the author at the outset makes no claims to having written an evaluating history. Rather, this is a personal narrative and one of the best.

C. ROSSO.

WORLD POPULATION: PAST GROWTH AND PRESENT TRENDS, *by A. M. Carr-Saunders. Oxford University Press.* $4.50.

This is a highly competent study of population trends the world over. It makes significant reading for those who can take a medium dose of statistics. Population in western Europe and the U.S., although increasing, is not *replacing* itself. That is, if present age composition is considered, the relatively near future will bring drastic declines. The Soviet Union, almost alone, shows the reverse picture. (The significance of this latter fact is insufficiently analyzed.) The population policy of Nazi Germany is shown to be a failure. Arguments of "eugenist" quacks, especially about the relation of the middle class to population, are ably refuted. In general, Carr-Saunders is a specialist who finds himself necessarily concerned with the social-economic structure underlying his specialty. In these matters he is honest but exceedingly cautious. Tucked away in one corner of his scholarship is this thought: "Indeed it is sometimes said that the final condemnation of capitalism is that under it people are induced to keep their families so small that they no longer replace themselves." A far cry from Malthusianism.

ADDISON T. CUTLER.

FRENCH POLICY AND DEVELOPMENTS IN INDO-CHINA, *by Thomas E. Ennis. University of Chicago Press.* $3.

Generations after their conquest of Indo-China, the Frenchmen there number a few hundred. The hope of occupying the country through settlement has been abandoned. The substitute proposal of colonization through capital investment is not, as yet, materializing, though the tendency of imperialist powers to attempt economic self-sufficiency within their imperial frontiers is encouraging it. Culturally, French occupation has led to deterioration. Benefits in sanitation are more than offset by the deformation of the native economy to serve the interests of French imperialism. As a result, Indo-China is seething with unrest which today is spreading under the leadership of the native Communist Party. Dr. Ennis's book is almost the sole study in its field: it suffers from the literalism of an account too dependent on document and statistics. And by a presentation of revolutionary movements, especially the Communist, too much from official documents, it does not fulfill its apparent aim at objectivity.

★

Recently Recommended Books

Sam Adams, Pioneer in Propaganda, by John C. Miller. Little, Brown. $4.

History of the Great American Fortunes, by Gustavus Myers. Modern Library Giants. $1.10.

The Study of Man, by Ralph Linton. Appleton-Century. $4.

The Theory and Practice of Socialism, by John Strachey. Random House. $3.

Art and Society: A Marxist Analysis, by George Plekhanov, with an introduction by Granville Hicks. Critics' Group. Cloth $1, paper 35c.

The Future of Liberty, by George Soule. Macmillan. $2.

The Best of Art Young, with an introduction by Heywood Broun. Vanguard. $3.

History of the Haymarket Affair, by Henry David. Farrar & Rinehart. $4.

Man's Worldly Goods, by Leo Huberman. Harper. $2.50.

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SIGHTS AND SOUNDS

"The Wingless Victory" and a play about Keats—Politics in the movies and the dance

IT is a matter for considerable regret that we are forced to recognize Maxwell Anderson's *The Wingless Victory* as a disappointment. It is not merely that it did not live up to the fanfare which preceded it; rather, the letdown is keenest as you hearken to Mr. Anderson's vivid and eloquent lines, as you observe Katharine Cornell's supple and dynamic acting, as you note the loving care with which Guthrie McClintic has done his staging. What is lacking is the *sine qua non* of a great play, and especially, of a great tragedy: a clear intellectual grasp of the issues at stake, and their arrangement in a form which leaves nothing to be desired from the standpoint of inevitability or of importance.

The conflict which inspires this tragedy in a New England setting in 1800 is the implacability of true love versus the implacability of race prejudice. Sub-themes are religious hypocrisy and economic determinism as they affect the life of the community and the relationships between the principals in the dramatic clash. Here are themes worthy of any dramatist's efforts, but Mr. Anderson seems to have muffed his opportunity.

Nathaniel McQueston (Walter Abel) returns from several years' seafaring with a ship, *The Wingless Victory,* and a Malayan princess for a wife (Miss Cornell) to his home town of Salem, Mass. His family and the community will have none of her, and his wealth is powerless to enable him to force her acceptance, because the people arrayed against him learn from a seaman's diary that the circumstances under which he came by the ship lay him open to conviction for piracy. He knuckles under to their pressure and decides to send his wife and their two children back, despite the fact that he knows they face outlawry or death. At the last minute, just as the ship is about to sail, his love drives him to give up his home and community to go with her, but when he joins her on shipboard he finds the two daughters already dead by her hand as a defense against inevitable whoredom in the Orient, and his wife awaiting her own death from the same hemlock. She repeats the blazing denunciation of him and his society with which she greeted his earlier surrender, but at the final curtain, her love flares into reunion as she dies.

Apart from the lack of freshness in the story, certain major flaws are present. First, wouldn't everything have come out all right if the purely fortuitous circumstance of the piracy hadn't stood in the way? You feel that Mr. Anderson's intention is to say that East is East and West is West, etc., but he makes you feel also that if it weren't for that piracy business, McQueston could have used his economic power to force acceptance of a wife whose wisdom and generosity might then have prevailed over provincialism to make her finally emotionally acceptable to her husband's community. In other words, the clash is stated as a basic ideological one, the outcome of which is determined by a purely fortuitous circumstance. And so it fails to carry conviction as a definitive statement of the issues at stake, and descends to the level of a play which happens to have a certain outcome because of an aspect of the situation which has nothing necessarily to do with these issues. Moreover, in Anderson's treatment of the race-prejudice issue, in which you feel it is his intention to deliver a telling polemic against it, part of the argument for Oparre being as good as the Salemites is (1) that she was a princess in her homeland and (2) that she, being of the same racial stock as the Hindus, is really as much a Caucasian as those who scorn her. Not exactly an argument in fundamentals! Such a grasp of the problems dealt with, clothed in all the glory of fiery indignation and torrential emotional expression, leaves a definite impression of a confused and adolescent point of view. We eagerly await the day when Maxwell Anderson's dramatic eloquence is matched by a seasoned philosophical grasp of his material.

THE FIRES of the Romantic Revival in English literature are burning brightly in Forty-fifth Street, where Anne Crawford Flexner's *Aged 26* is telling us about John Keats's vicissitudes in relation to poetry, love, poverty, and death. There is nothing great about this play, and, happily, it has no pretensions to greatness. No "psychological" portrait of the author of *Endymion* is offered, nor is there any attempt to cast in symbolical mold his relationship with Fanny Brawne. The author even makes light of certain historical details for the sake of simplifying her story. And it all seems quite right, especially since the play as a whole recaptures the spirit of the purest period of the Romantic movement as we know it.

The play opens with the return to London of Keats just after the *Quarterly* and *Blackwood's* had sunk their talons into *Endymion.* The nostrils of every old war-horse of poesy (and aren't we all?) will dilate with pleasure at the chance meeting in Taylor's publishing office of Keats with Shelley and Byron, and the good and spirited talk that ensues, alas, too briefly. Byron (Charles Trexler) here is well sketched for all the paucity of the lines: a taint of pride and snobbism that melts instantly to a warm humanity in the presence of a man and a poet; Shelley (Anthony Kemble Cooper) is direct and sensitive and courageous, and while the scope of the play disallows further contact with him and Byron, their disappearance from the stage is a genuine deprivation. (There seemed to be something wrong with Shelley's makeup and getup: your impression of him before he speaks is unfortunate, rather that of a pasty-faced popinjay, and clashes with the strength of his lines and the vigor of their delivery.) The love-at-first-sight encounter between Keats and Fanny Brawne occurs at the end of the first act, and the play goes on to the development of that love through Act II, which closes with Keats discovering the tell-tale blood in the spittle which informs him he is down with the consumption that has already stricken other members of his family. The final act has him struggling to cope with disease, with the poverty which prevents him from properly caring for his ailing brother and from taking Fanny to Italy, and with the sense of doom which has dogged him since he learned the nature of his malady. The pathos of the final scene at the quayside is the pathos we all have felt about this great mind and spirit which sprang from the humble hostelry and fought its way through the barriers of class and poverty, only to be brought low in the hour of triumph largely because of hurts received in that struggle.

Linda Watkins is lovely and very moving as Fanny Brawne, and Matthew Boulton as Publisher Taylor and Kenneth McKenna as Charles Armitage Brown turn in solid performances. Robert Harris, whom you may have seen opposite Jane Cowl in Noel Coward's *Easy Virtue,* makes Keats at all times a subtle and yet frank personality, consumed with the agony and ardor that must have been his. ALEXANDER TAYLOR.

J. A. Cornin

THE SCREEN

NEW YORKERS are privileged in being able to compare the two extremes in motion-picture contrast. *Beloved Enemy* (United Artists) is Sam Goldwyn's versic the Irish revolution and Irish revolution and Amkino's *Revolutionists* (at the Came is about the Russian revolution of 1905 generally and a collective portrait of the beginnings of the Bolshevik party in particular. I

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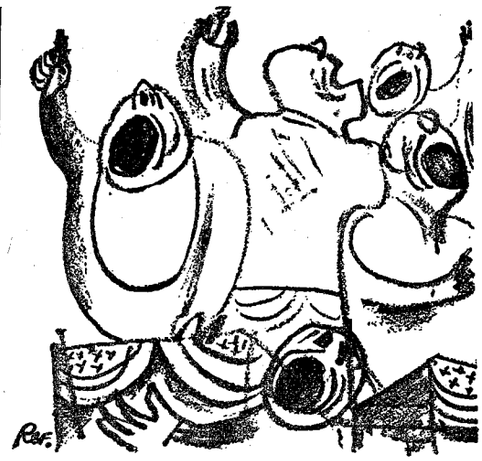
recommend seeing both films (within the same week if possible, for you will get a clearer idea of the difference between Hollywood and Moscow, between the methods of revolutionary art and Mr. Goldwyn (he is symbolic of the best in Hollywood, commercially speaking) than dozens of essays on the subject.

Mr. Goldwyn's film uses the Irish revolt only as a backdrop. There are patriots and revolutionists and party splits and British soldiers and spies and conferences in London. But one never knows what the shooting is all about. What were the Irish revolting against? What were the English doing in Ireland? Just what kind of a treaty did the Irish delegation sign when they went to London? And with whom did they meet in London? Those answers have been neglected in *Beloved Enemy*. Only one thing is clear: Brian Aherne is an Irish revolutionist who falls for Merle Oberon, a British noblewoman. Since they are on opposing sides, their love can never be realized. And so there is a long death-bed amour. A thrilling and highly dramatic story is sacrificed for an unimportant love story. *Beloved Enemy* inevitably brings to mind John Ford's *The Informer,* which is still, with all its weaknesses, the first tolerable film of the Irish revolt. *The Informer* was made by sincere, if mistaken artists. But *Beloved Enemy* was made by Mr. Goldwyn, who makes the kind of films he does in order to "justify our business existence."

Revolutionists is the most important film (with the exception of *Frontier*) to be shown here since *The Youth of Maxim.* And while it is not as complete a work of art as *Maxim,* it is a tribute to Soviet cinematography and to its director Vera Stroyeva. In addition, Vera Stroyeva has added to the accomplishments of her sex; for no other woman (there are very few women directors) has made a film that can stand comparison with *Revolutionists.* Like *Maxim,* this new film depicts the rise of the Russian revolutionary movement. It is a more severe portrait; more factual and more political.

Being a portrait of a movement rather than an individual, the film lacks plot in the ordinary sense. The period of 1896-1905 was complex and chaotic. The underground movement was far from romantic. The work of the professional revolutionists was hard and unrelenting. But that does not mean that there is no progression. True, there are few moments of melodrama, but the film is intense and highly dramatic. It reminds one of the structure of such works as Piatnitsky's *Memoirs of a Bolshevik;* Vera Figner's *Memoirs of a Revolutionist,* or Krupskaya's *Memoirs of Lenin.*

From the early days in Petrograd to the days of exile in Siberia and Geneva, the film shows the development of the revolutionary movement and, finally, the split at the Second Party Congress which resulted in the birth of the Menshviks and Bolsheviks (the majority). The next period is the bloody Sunday massacre on January 9, 1905, when thousands of workers, under the leadership of Father



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Gapon, marched into the Palace Square to present the czar with a petition. Vera Stroyeva gives us a sequence that is overwhelmingly beautiful and powerful. It is a brilliant example of the effectiveness of understatement. The final portion of the film concerns itself with the workers' armed uprising and the famous Moscow barricades.

Perhaps I have given the impression that *Revolutionists* is academic and unexciting. That is wrong, for there is no lack of human interest. No matter how involved the sequence or "intellectual" the language or exciting the movement, the director never lets us forget that essentially her people are real.

For a long time there was some concern over the state of the photography in the Soviet sound film. It didn't seem to have the dynamic quality of the silent period. Most of the cinematographers suddenly resorted to a more formal and academic style. But *Revolutionists* dispels that fear. There is highly artistic work in all phases of the production. One of the most outstanding is the contribution of the musical score and the use of sound.

Stroyeva has drawn together a wonderful cast from the best theaters in the Soviet Union: Shchukin and Goriunov (who plays the captain of the gendarmes) from the Vakhtangov Theater; Khmelev from the Moscow Art; Maretskaya (who plays the Ugly One) from the Zavadsky studio and Tarasova from the Siminov studio.

The original Russian title for *Revolutionists* was *A Generation of Conquerors*. That's just what Vera Stroyeva has given us.

PETER ELLIS.

THE DANCE

THERE is little in the work of Martha Graham that is reminiscent of Angna Enters; and except when Miss Enters does her *Oh, the Pain of It (Very Modern Abstract)* there is very little of the modern dance in the theater pieces of the dance-mime. On December 20, however, they met on a common plane—anti-war, anti-fascist—and packed the Guild and Alvin Theaters to standing-room-only.

Angna Enters has just returned from Spain; her *Flesh-Possessed "Saint"—Spanish Monk, Red Malaga, 1936* is a confirmation of what she has written for the press. The church smokes a cigarette, turns a suppliant hand, hoards wealth for power; it is alert to protect its fat, as if the cross (so heavy that it drags) is not enough; then the gun appears from under the cassock. The mime's sensuous sixteenth-century *Boy Cardinal* is developed to his logical historical conclusion: the force which with its hypocritical piety has kept Spain feudal these hundreds of years will keep it that way (if it can) by might of arms—and Angna Enters has seen the church in action!

Done with a consummate skill, the composition is typical of Miss Enters's work. Her gestures are simple, understandable; her line is direct and sparing. The corruption of the church is a turned back and a cigarette, the

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greed is the trailing crucifix, the supplicating cross the hypocrisy, the gun from under the cloth its power. This is no caricature, however, as is the *Boy Cardinal* with his castanets concealed; this is condemnation in sharp, ironic development. *Queen of Heaven (French Gothic), Pavana-Spain Sixteenth Century,* among her other works on the church, are well rounded in composition, but, for all their keeness of perception, pictorial. *Flesh-Possessed "Saint"* possesses an integrity of direction such museum pieces can't. Contemporary, it has decision; it depends not on any literary knowledge (which museum pieces need), but on an awareness and an understanding of the social and political scene. It conveys not impression, evaluation. It has meaning for a mass audience where a descriptive piece must of necessity have a limited significance. It moves where precious work is still.

The second of the new compositions, *"Deutschland Ueber Alles" (German Tripper),* is a slight satirical sketch on totalitarian *Kultur.* The tourist—camera, binoculars, trench coat, Baedeker and all—plants the swastika "ueber alles" on the tripod from where Angna Enters, with little concern for professional Aryan sensitivities, flips it to the floor—in her curtain call.

Mme. Pompadour—Solitaire—1900 is a study in research: how the young madam got dressed at the turn of the century, and what she did once she was in harness. Not very important, this type of work takes up too much of the mime's programs.

Time on My Hands—2 Modern City Women is first a bit of a *New Yorker* cartoon on the "smart woman" whose breakfast is a face-patter, a cigarette, *Vogue,* and a neck-fat reducer; second, a worried picture of a working girl saving her breakfast sandwich and milk for lunch. The second theme had excellent possibilities which were wasted in a sentimental approach.

Imperial Russia and *Spain Says "Salud"* were presented in a subsequent program too late for review in this issue.

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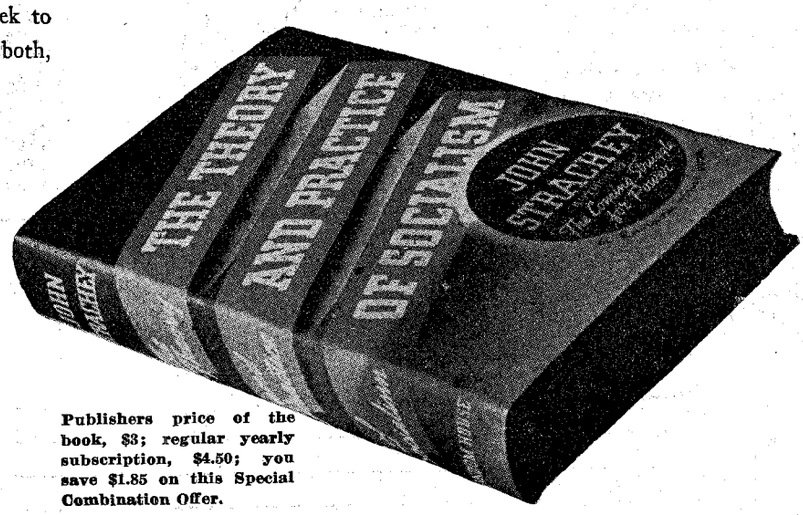

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